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FOUNDED BY
PROFESSOR HENRY ALFRED TODD

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ESSAI DE SOCIOLOGIE LINGUISTIQUE

IL y a trente ans, la linguistique en Europe était principalement historique: elle traçait l'histoire d'une langue, par exemple de la langue française, en constatant, pour chaque siècle, l'évolution des sons, des formes, des règles de la syntaxe et du style. Elle ne savait pas, ou presque pas, que les sons, les formes, la syntaxe d'une langue ne sont pas seulement différenciés par le temps, mais aussi par l'espace; que, si nous quittons un endroit pour en visiter un autre, nous trouvons une autre diction, d'autres nuances, d'autres formes; que l'évolution d'une langue n'est donc pas l'évolution d'un seul phénomène, mais l'entre-croisement perpétuel de patois voisins, de langues voisines se mêlant par un commerce quelconque.

Le terme général "langue" est une abstraction de ces réalités. On ne peut donc pas étudier une langue en ne l'observant qu'au point de vue historique, ou en n'analysant que de temps en temps, comme par hasard, les différences dialectales ou géographiques. Au contraire, celles-ci doivent entrer dans l'étude de tous les détails *par principe*, puisqu'elles ont fait partie de l'évolution de chaque détail.

Lorsque, vers 1900, les études de M. Morf et de son école, les idées de M. Schuchardt, l'*Atlas Linguistique* et les travaux de M. Gilliéron parvinrent à transformer la philologie romane, il y eut une tendance à rendre prédominant le point de vue géographique. On crut même à une faillite de la phonétique historique. Celle-ci formant la base de l'étude des formes et de la syntaxe, toute l'ancienne façon de comprendre une langue parut condamnée à mort. En Allemagne, beaucoup de cours de grammaire historique disparurent. Sous l'influence de

certaines écoles, on renonçait à l'étude de la langue: on n'étudiait plus que le style et la littérature.

La révolution de la linguistique géographique, se substituant à la linguistique historique, les a compromises toutes les deux. En effet, isolés, ces deux points de vue se valent: on ne peut pas étudier les faits de la langue par son histoire seule, parce que ce qui évolue n'est pas la "langue," mais ce sont: les sons, les formes, les propositions, les idées et les termes d'individus qui appartiennent à différents patois, à différents métiers ou milieux; on ne le peut pas, parce que "langue" est un composé de faits extrêmement compliqués. Mais on ne peut pas non plus étudier une langue par son état géographique seul, parce que cet état n'est que temporaire et ne s'explique pas par lui-même.

En effet, ce que nous voulons comprendre, ce n'est pas un seul état de la langue, mais la succession de tous les états dans le temps; ce qui implique tous les états dans l'espace. Il est donc impossible de saisir les faits de la langue, sans observer son évolution dans le temps aussi bien que dans l'espace, sans observer les relations multiples entre les patois et les dialectes qui forment l'idée abstraite de "langue," depuis la formation de cette langue jusqu'à nos jours.

Voilà ce qu'on peut appeler la méthode chrono-géographique. C'est la seule méthode pouvant débrouiller les faits de l'histoire de la société, d'une société. Car pour saisir de tels faits, il est impossible de travailler avec des photographies seules, ou avec des cartes seules. Il faut une série de chrono-photographies pour chaque point de la carte. Autrement dit, chaque fait linguistique étant un reflet du commerce des hommes, son étude doit aboutir à ce commerce.

Il est impossible d'étudier la langue autrement. Et même la stylistique, voire la littérature (si on ne se résigne pas à une étude purement esthétique) ne saurait se passer d'une étude chrono-géographique de la langue comme base. Car la langue, "total de faits linguistiques," est, je le répète, une abstraction d'ordre très élevé. Toute abstraction, même la plus élevée, est juste, si on peut la réduire, sans difficulté et sans impossibilité, à des éléments réels. Si elle est irréductible, elle est fausse.

L'élément réel de la "langue," ce sont les parlers des in-

dividus ainsi que leurs écrits. Les parlers individuels d'un groupe forment le "patois"; les patois d'une région forment le "dialecte"; les dialectes d'une unité linguistique en forment la "langue parlée." Cette langue parlée est une généralisation extrêmement compliquée. Les écrits forment une autre généralisation beaucoup moins compliquée, la "langue écrite." Enfin, la langue, comme abstraction totale, les réunit toutes les deux.

Il est clair que l'étude des faits historiques part de la langue écrite,—tandis que l'étude géographique de la langue procède de la langue parlée, de l'étude des patois, des atlas linguistiques. Du croisement de ces deux méthodes sort une reproduction aussi fidèle que possible de la réalité "langue." Ce qui dans l'*histoire* n'est pas sûr comme état, comme "réalité," se corrige par l'étude de l'état vivant dans les patois. Et ce qui dans la *géographie* n'est pas sûr comme cause, comme état précédent, se corrige par les faits de l'histoire.

J'ai montré que ce chemin est praticable et qu'il mène au but, dans mon *Altfranzösisches Elementarbuch, Einführung in das Studium der französischen Sprache und ihrer Mundarten* (1923). Et, presque unanimement, la critique m'a approuvé.

Mais le temps et l'espace seuls ne suffisent pas pour expliquer les faits sociologiques de la langue. Dans un patois ou dans un dialecte, il n'y a pas qu'un seul type d'hommes: mais il y en a plusieurs. Dans chaque commune, il y a des différences marquées de culture, de science, d'expérience. Impossible donc d'étudier une langue par l'évolution de ses patois et de ses dialectes seuls: il faut introduire dans cette étude l'observation des différents milieux. Par exemple, les mots servant à désigner l'idée de justice ou d'injustice ne se développent pas, en général, dans les milieux rustiques. Les mots servant à désigner un outil, par contre, ne se développent pas, en général, dans les milieux académiques.

D'un autre côté, un paysan ne parlant qu'à d'autres paysans n'est qu'une fiction. Et, de même, le curé, le médecin, l'avocat causent entre eux, avec le peuple; et leur langue subit l'influence des parlers populaires.

Les faits de la langue, faits ou plutôt entre-croisements chrono-géographiques, se compliquent donc encore: les mots

n'appartiennent pas à la commune ou au dialecte *dans leur totalité*, mais font plutôt partie du vocabulaire d'un ou de plusieurs groupes de cette commune ou de ce dialecte. De plus, chaque groupe ne se sert pas de tout son vocabulaire pour toutes ses fonctions linguistiques: en écrivant, il se servira d'autres termes qu'en parlant en public ou en causant. Aux différences de lieu, de temps et de milieu vient donc encore s'ajouter: la différence des styles. Ce sont les complications du milieu et du style que je voudrais étudier dans ce travail, c'est-à-dire, rechercher les règles de cette complication et les méthodes bonnes à les débrouiller.

I. *Bougies, lumières, chandelles, etc.*

Je lis dans le *Tableau de Paris* par Mercier (chapitre LXIV):

"Quand le jour tombe dans le salon, le notaire et le gros commis disent au valet *des bougies*; les maîtres des requêtes et les présidents disent *des lumières*; mais les grands seigneurs et les princes disent: *apportez des chandelles* et pourquoi? C'est que le roi dit toujours *des chandelles*.

"Je ne doute pas que, profitant de cette remarque, quelque gentillâtre ne dise bientôt en province, dans son château démantelé: *des chandelles*. Et j'aurai occasionné un trait comique."

On voit que le jugement de Mercier a sa pleine valeur. Mieux que dans sa *Néologie* (Paris, 1801), il a compris la composition complexe des milieux sociologiques: et plus intelligent que certains de nos contemporains qui croient pouvoir saisir cette complexité en ne distinguant que deux milieux sociologiques, la "société élevée" et les "gens du commun"; mieux que certains autres qui confondent tous les milieux dans l'abstraction allégorique du "Génie du siècle," il sait que l'ancien Régime en distinguait au moins trois, sans parler de la petite bourgeoisie et des paysans. Il sait qu'à la Cour, tout le monde essaye d'imiter le Roi; que, par analogie, tout milieu a ses modèles, ses imitations, ses copies, ses tabous,—donc ses modes. Car *mode* veut dire: "Imitation de certains modèles par certains groupes sociaux." Autrement dit "choix de modèles communs."

Madame de Sévigné nous l'a expliqué dans une de ses charmantes lettres:

"C'est Langlée, dit le Roi. C'est Langlée assurément, dit Madame de Montespan. . . . C'est Langlée, c'est Langlée, tout le monde le répète. C'est Langlée, les échos en demeurent d'accord et disent: C'est Langlée.

"Et moi ma fille, je vous dis, *pour être à la mode*: C'est Langlée!" (1649).

Qui dit *imitation*, dit *distinction*; car imiter quelqu'un, c'est vouloir se distinguer des autres. Si c'est la cour qui est le modèle, on voudra se distinguer du bourgeois, de la province. Une autre fois, ce sera justement la cour qu'on lâchera, par antipathie, par esprit frondeur. Ainsi nous lisons dans les *Mémoires* du Cardinal de Retz (Livre II, 1649):

"Bachaumont s'avisait de dire un jour en badinant, que le Parlement faisait comme les écoliers qui frondent dans les fossés de Paris; qui se séparent dès qu'ils voient le lieutenant civil, et qui se rassemblent dès qu'il ne paraît plus.

"Cette comparaison fut trouvée assez plaisante. Elle fut célébrée par les chansons . . . Nous y donnâmes nous-mêmes assez de cours, parce que nous remarquâmes que cette distinction de nom échauffait les esprits, & nous résolûmes, dès le soir, de prendre quelques cordons de chapeaux qui eussent quelque forme de fronde.

"Un marchand affidé nous en fit quantité qu'il débita à une infinité de gens qui n'y entendaient aucune finesse, & nous n'en portâmes que les derniers pour n'y point faire paraître d'affectation qui en eût gâté tout le mystère. L'effet de cette bagatelle fut incroyable: tout fut à la mode de la Fronde, le pain, les chapeaux, les gants, les mouchoirs, les éventails, les garnitures; & nous fûmes nous-mêmes encore plus à la mode par cette sottise que par l'essentiel."

L'imitation a son contrepoids, son pôle négatif dans la recherche de la distinction. On tâche de se distinguer des milieux antipathiques. Dans la *mode*, on appelle *distinction* subjectivement: "ce qui se distingue du vulgaire," ou "ce qui se distingue de toute concurrence." Dans la *science* nous appelons *distinction* objectivement: "ce qui se distingue de n'importe quel modèle." C'est un boycottage, un tabou linguistique, une Fronde.

Ainsi, quand les présidents disent *lumières*, ils ont pu imiter le parler du clergé, ils ont pu vouloir se distinguer de la façon de

parler de la Cour. Si le notaire dit *bougie*, il a pu se conformer au terme des commerçants dont il défend les intérêts. Et si la Cour dit *chandelles*, cela peut être par tradition, par distinction, par imitation. Impossible de résoudre la question à priori, par intuition. Il faut l'étudier pas à pas.

1. Première Période, de 500 à 1200

Aucun doute, le mot de tradition c'est *candela* > *chandelle*. Il se retrouve dans toutes les langues romanes. Dans les patois français modernes, les formes dérivant de *candela* règnent seules, ainsi qu'en provençal. Un seul point de l'ALF (feuille 229), le point 744 dans le Tarn, dit *petorino*. Mais ce terme est vieilli, et on dit plus généralement *kandelo*. Les dictons et chansons populaires ne connaissent que *chandelles*: *Le jeu n'en vaut pas la chandelle*; *économie de bouts de chandelles*; *trouver le vin en plein minuit sans chandelle*; *belle à la chandelle*, etc., etc. On se rappelle l'inoubliable chanson:

"Au clair de la lune,
Mon ami Pierrot,
Prête-moi ta plume
Pour écrire un mot!
Ma chandelle est morte,
Je n'ai plus de feu.
Ouvre-moi la porte
Pour l'amour de Dieu."

Donc, en latin vulgaire, on disait *candela*.

Il n'y avait que l'église qui se distinguait de cette façon de parler: d'abord par le terme *cereum*, "chandelle en cire pure" qu'on offrait aux saints. En ancien français, on disait *cierge* ou *cirge*, et j'ai essayé d'expliquer ce développement dans ma grammaire, à la page 169. La diphtongaison paraît antérieure à la transformation du *yod* en *dj*, transformation due à l'*r*.

Depuis, j'ai trouvé une forme qui pourrait compromettre cette explication: On connaît l'allemand *Kerze*. Kluge dans son *Dictionnaire* rattache curieusement ce mot au latin *charta*! Ce "papier" aurait servi de "mèche"?! *Kerze* est évidemment emprunté du latin **kerdje*, avant la transformation complète du *k*

initial en *ts* (à comparer *Kaiser*, *Kirsche*) et après la transformation du *yod* en *dj*. Il n'y a pas de trace de la diphtongue. Mais ceci peut être une réduction germanique. Toutefois, il faudra dorénavant, pour expliquer *cierge*, tenir compte de l'allemand *Kerze*.—Quant à la question que nous traitons ici, le mot *cierge*, émanant de l'église, lui est resté fidèle et n'a pas exercé d'influence sur les milieux non ecclésiastiques.

Il n'en a pas été de même pour un autre terme appartenant à l'église, à savoir: *luminare-luminaria*. On désignait par ce terme les matières premières importées d'Orient pour éclairer l'église. Le port d'importation était Marseille et les évêques, qui les envoyaient chercher dans ce port, étaient exempts des droits de douane en cours de route. Voyez les formules de Marculf (éd. Zeumer, p. 107), écrites entre 700 et 750:

"Cognoscite, ut annis singulis de carra tanta, quod ad luminaria comparandum ad Massilia ad marcandum videntur . . . nullo teloneo nec qualibet reddibucione exinde ad parte fisci nostri missi sui discurrentes dissolvere non dibeant."

Ce qui veut dire:

"Sachez que chaque année . . . de la quantité de chars . . . qui se rendent à Marseille, pour acheter des luminaires . . . leurs commis (*missi sui discurrentes*, si j'ai bien compris) n'ont à payer ni douane, ni péage."

Luminaria, dès le commencement, est un terme général, embrassant toutes les matières combustibles, ainsi que leurs récipients. Un *Capitulaire* de Charlemagne de l'année 769 (*Capitularia*, p. 45, 33) prescrit:

"In Coena Domini semper novum Chrisma ab episcopo suo (presbiter) quaerat; ardere in luminaribus ecclesiae vetus non tardet."

Étant un terme général, désignant donc tout ce qui donne de la lumière, et ce qui peut la contenir (lampe, candélabre, chandelier, bougeoir, etc.), il n'est pas surprenant que *luminare* et *luminaria* et leurs dérivations françaises, *luminaires* et *lumière*, entrent au sens figuré dans les sermons, et, par cet intermédiaire, dans la langue élevée et distinguée, ainsi que nous allons voir dans les chapitres suivants.

Nous ne savons naturellement pas, si, chez lui, le clerc disait *lumière* ou *chandelle*. Nous supposons qu'il disait ou bien l'un ou bien l'autre: le petit clergé de préférence *chandelle*—le haut clergé de préférence *lumière*. Le chapitre suivant fournira la base de cette supposition.

2. Seconde Période, de 1200 à 1500

L'épopée ne connaît pas de *chandelles*. Dans le voyage de Charlemagne à Jérusalem, c'est une *escarboucle* qui luit. Dans les autres épopées, on trouve généralement *luminaire* ou *lumière*, mais très rarement *chandelle*. Il est clair qu'il s'agit d'une question de style, et que le poète ou le jongleur, le soir, après avoir chanté *Fierabras* ou *Guillaume*, demandera sa *chandelle*. En effet, l'épopée, en disant *luminaire* ou *lumière*, est plus royaliste que le Roi; à la Cour on se sert tout simplement du mot populaire, c'est-à-dire qu'on appelle une "*chandelle*," une *chandelle*, ainsi qu'aurait dit Boileau.

Joinville raconte ce qui suit dans ses *Mémoires* (éd. Fr. Michel, 1871, p. 203):

"Quant elle fu alée coucher en la chambre desous la chambre la royne . . . la *chandelle* ardi tant, que le feu se prist en la touaille, et de la touaille se prist as teiles dont les dras de la royne estoient couvers."

Il s'agit donc bien de la chandelle de la reine, et c'est Joinville, le courtisan, qui nous le dit.

Cet usage est constatable jusqu'au XVe siècle. Charles d'Orléans, dans sa Ballade 68, nous parle des chandelles de saint Valentin:

"Le beau soleil le jour saint Valentin
Qui apportoit sa chandelle allumée,
N'a pas longtemps, entra un bien matin
Privéement en ma chambre fermée."

Évidemment, quand le prince parle des choses d'église, ce ne sont plus des *chandelles*, mais des *lumières* et des *cierges*:

"J'ai fait l'obsèque de Madame
Dedans le moustier amoureux: . . .
Mains *cierges* de soupirs piteux
Ont esté en son *luminaire*."

Luminaire et *lumière*, voilà donc les termes de l'église, du sermon, termes spéciaux et généraux en même temps, et servant au sens figuré dans les paraboles. Ainsi nous lisons dans *Eruclavit*, poème du XIIe siècle, sorti probablement des sermons de la Cour de Marie de Champagne, comme l'a démontré M. T. A. Jenkins:

"Sainz Esperites, voirs consaus,
Douce lumière, clers solaus."

Ce qui n'empêche pas les contemporains de comprendre *lumière* ou *luminaire* dans le sens de "chandelle" ou de "lumière," terme général.

Guerre Sainte 2375: "Tant cierges ne tel luminaire . . ."
Boeve de Hanstone, (éd. Stimming) 10086: "Li luminaire est granz par la cité . . ."; 11180: "A luminaires et a cierges plenté . . ."

Au fond, le Moyen Age ne connaît que deux sociétés exprimant par des termes différents l'idée de "lumière": Le peuple et le clergé. La Cour se sert du terme populaire, tandis que l'épopée se sert du terme ecclésiastique, comme se distinguant du vulgaire, comme plus élevé.

Vers le déclin du Moyen Age, un nouveau terme est venu s'ajouter aux termes de source latine: Le mot *bougie*. Bougie est une ville située au nord de l'Afrique. Aujourd'hui déchuë, elle servait, au Moyen Age, de port d'exportation aux Vénitiens et aux Génois. Parmi les articles importés de Bougie en France, figurait principalement la cire et des chandelles en cire pure. Ces chandelles, on les appelait *chandelles de Bougie*; puis *bougies* tout court. Le genre féminin a été dicté par la *chandelle*. L'importation des chandelles de Bougie a cessé en 1509: en cette année, les Espagnols s'emparèrent de Bougie, et, à partir de ce moment, l'importation en France des bougies cessa. Mais l'article "bougie" avait conquis le marché; et ainsi la désignation resta, l'article même faisant défaut.

3. Troisième Période, de 1500 à la Révolution Française

Toutefois, il est possible que l'article authentique manquant, le commerce ait pu vendre une chandelle pareille pour la qualité

(cire pure) ou pour la forme aux ci-devant bougies importées. Mais je n'en ai pas trouvé de preuves. Ce que j'ai trouvé, c'est qu'à la Cour on continue de dire *chandelle*; mais que, en écrivant, on se sert du mot *bougie* pour varier. *Bougie* serait donc restée dans la langue élevée comme variante stylistique.

C'est Marguerite de Navarre qui nous en fournit des exemples. Ainsi, dans son 63^e *Conte*, un amoureux s'efforce "à tenir une *chandelle* avec ses doigts tous nus." Ce qui provoque la critique de Géburon: "Il y en a peu, dit-il, de qui le feu d'amour soit si grand qu'il ne craigne celui de la moindre bougie."

Dans son 65^e *conte*, un soldat se couche sur un tombeau. Une bonne femme entre avec une "chandelle ardente" dans le tombeau et, prenant le soldat couché sur la tombe pour la statue d'un mort, y veut fixer sa chandelle.

"Mais la cire ne peut tenir contre la pierre; la bonne dame qui pensoit que ce fût à cause de la froidure de l'image lui va mettre le feu contre le front, pour y faire tenir sa *bougie*."

Donc, d'abord *chandelle*; puis, pour varier, *bougie*. Mais de tels soucis de style ne comptent évidemment pas *quand on parle*. Et nous lisons dans la conversation qui se rattache à la même 65^e *histoire*: Le conteur exhorte son public:

"Doresnavant regarder à quel Saint vous baillerez vos *chandelles*!

'Est-ce mal fait de porter des *chandelles* au sépulcre?' dit Nomerfide.

'... La pauvre femme cuidoît avoir fait un beau présent à Dieu d'une petite *chandelle*', ce dist Madame Oisille.

'... Je n'estime pas ignorante celle qui porte devant Dieu sa *chandelle* ou cierge ardent.'

Ainsi, à la Cour, on continue de dire *chandelle*. On dit *chandelle*, quand il s'agit de l'article de luxe ("chandelle ou cierge ardent"); et on dit *chandelle*, s'il s'agit de la "petite chandelle" du peuple. Pour varier, on emploie le mot *bougie* dans les deux sens. *Bougie* évidemment n'est que "variante de style." Qui dit *variante de style*, dit *terme inusité ou rare*. Ce qui a causé la ruine du terme *bougie* à partir de 1509, fera sa fortune en 1600: Car qui dit *terme rare ou inusité*, dit en même temps *terme distingué*.

Vers la fin du XVI^e siècle, commence cette évolution si curieuse, pour ne pas dire cette Révolution, qui dépeuple les manoirs de l'aristocratie en province et transforme les nobles en courtisans. Évolution étudiée par Taine dans son premier volume des *Origines de la France contemporaine*.

Agrippa d'Aubigné a écrit la satire de cette noblesse campagnarde se ruant à la curée (comme aurait dit Zola) dans son immortel *Baron de Faeneste*. Faeneste, c'est le grec *phainestai*, "paraître." Qui dit *paraître*, dit *vouloir se distinguer*. *Vouloir se distinguer* en linguistique s'appelle "se servir du terme non populaire," "boycotter le terme populaire." Voilà pourquoi nous lisons dans le livre II, chapitre XIX, de ces *Aventures*:

"Einay: Prenez ces *chandeliers* vous autres: allons Monsieur.

"Faeneste: Bous me faictes grand despit: que ne dites bous ces *flambeaux*? ils sont de von aryment (bon argent), et trop vien faictes pour billage (village)."

Chandeliers est tabou à la Cour et *chandelle* ne l'est pas moins! Et c'est dans le même livre que nous trouvons les premiers exemples de *bougie* et de *bougeoir* comme "terme de cour." Faeneste raconte:

"Un soir que Monsur de Guise bovoit avec le Roi, ye vis mon rousseau (un courtisan aux cheveux rouges) qui tendoit la *vougie* (*bougie*) au Roi et li disoit force biédaseries à l'oreille, dont lou Roi se creboit de rire: ye (Faeneste) le pousse comme estant la cause de son abancement. Que me fit-il? Après lui aboir dit um mot à l'oreille, il me tend le *vougeoir* (*bougeoir*) et me dit: Servez le Roi!

"Me voilà au dessus des nues. Ye vaise (baise) la *bougie* . . . mon vas de saye (bas de soie) fumait, ye n'attendais que l'hure que le vas et la yambe creboient . . . les signurs disoient: il vrûle d'amvition." (*Baron de Faeneste*, Livre I^{er}, chap. 4).

La Cour commence donc à se distinguer en toute chose du reste des humains. On ne dit plus ni *chandelier*, ni *chandelle* comme le peuple, ainsi qu'avaient dit saint Louis, Charles d'Orléans, Marguerite de Navarre. On dit *bougeoir*, *bougie*. Le *bougeoir*, "c'est un petit chandelier d'or qu'un valet de chambre portait au coucher du Roi" (*Dict. de l'Académie*).

Bien entendu, on dit aussi *bougeoir* ou *flambeau* quand le

chandelier n'est que d'argent, ainsi que fait Faeneste. Car il s'agit non d'"être," mais de "paraître." Et de même pour chandelle: La Cour dit *bougie* et désigne, par ce terme, les chandelles de luxe dont on se sert à la Cour. Mais bientôt, tout Paris dira *de la bougie* en parlant de l'article bon marché.

Il paraît qu'à l'Hôtel de Bourgogne on brûlait des *chandelles de suif* les jours ordinaires:—et des *bougies de cire*, si la Cour assistait au spectacle. Mais Loret, dans sa *Muse historique*, dit *bougies* en parlant des "chandelles de luxes" illuminant une fête à Versailles (10 mai 1664), et, de même *de la bougie* en parlant des "chandelles" qu'on lui envoie pour ses étrennes:

"Des abricots, de la bougie,
Un livre de cronologie." (20 janvier 1664.)

De la bougie, que nous retrouverons dans le *Paysan Parvenu* de Marivaux, est évidemment le terme du petit commerce et la désignation de l'article bon marché. Résultat: Sous Louis XIV il n'y a plus de *chandelles* à la Cour: "Madame de Montespan couchoit tous ses rideaux ouverts avec beaucoup de *bougies* dans sa chambre," dit le Duc de Saint-Simon. Et même dans les dictons populaires, il remplacera *chandelle* par *bougie*; ce qui est la preuve directe que *chandelle* est tombée en désuétude; et il dira en parlant de Louis XIV, qui forçait Madame de Maintenon à assister à toutes les fêtes, même si elle était malade: "S'il devait y avoir une musique, la fièvre, le mal de tête n'empêchaient rien, ni *cent bougies devant les yeux*."

Le peuple parisien suivra la Cour d'assez près: *La Satyre Ménippée*, Béroalde de Verville, Scarron ne disent encore que *chandelle*. Mais *Ménage* parle déjà de la *bougie mal éteinte* que M. du Périer a mise dans sa poche. Et le *Paysan parvenu* dira (troisième partie vers le commencement): "*C'est de la bougie*, c'est du café, c'est du sucre." Les ecclésiastiques continuent de dire *lumière* et la province reste fidèle au terme de tradition qui est *chandelle*.

Mais le siècle de la Révolution est arrivé. Louis XVI monte sur le trône. "Il a été faible et maladif dans sa jeunesse, l'air de Meudon lui a été très salutaire" écrira de lui sa femme,

Marie-Antoinette.¹ Autre part elle dira: "Mes goûts ne sont pas ceux du Roi, qui n'a que ceux de la chasse et des ouvrages mécaniques."² En effet, le Roi "est de son naturel très peu parlant," il est même "incapable de discussion." Marie-Antoinette ne reconnaîtra ses bonnes qualités, la droiture de son jugement, la fermeté de son caractère qu'à l'occasion de l'affaire du collier.

Le Roi, nous apprend Mercier, ne dit plus *bougie*, ainsi que l'on disait à la Cour pendant le grand siècle, il dit *chandelle*, comme les provinciaux. Il a passé une partie de sa jeunesse à la campagne; donc il parle comme les paysans et les jardiniers. Ses goûts sont simples, se rattachent à la nature, aux gens simples. Il reprend après deux siècles la tradition de la vieille Cour française,—trop tard.

4. Quatrième Période: XIX^e siècle

L'ancienne Cour disparue, dans les villes on continue de dire *bougies*, et en province on dit *chandelles*. *Lumière* est le terme général et, par abus, le terme spécial: "La bonne accourut avec de la *lumière* (familier: mieux avec une lampe, une bougie)." Voilà comme M. Gottschalk explique l'état actuel des choses dans sa *Französische Synonymik* (Heidelberg, 1925), article 376.

On continue de parler de *lumière* au sens figuré: *Aidez-nous de vos lumières*. Mais "chandelles" et "bougies" tendent maintenant à disparaître toutes les deux. Le gaz et l'électricité les remplacent; et les bourgeois prévoyants ne gardent plus qu'un tout petit bout de chandelle, en cas que la lumière électrique fasse défaut.

Je ne crois pas qu'ils appelleront ce "bout de chandelle" *bout de bougie*. Et peut-être que l'unité de l'objet unira enfin les différents milieux sociologiques par un seul terme dont la forme dépendra de l'avenir. Toutefois, aujourd'hui le mot *bougie* reste très vivant, plus vivant que le mot chandelle: démodé dans les villes.

C'est un peu comme en Amérique. Lorsque Elmer Gantry, dans le roman de ce nom, arrive en Virginie, dans un milieu

¹ Marie-Antoinette, *Briefwechsel*, éd. Arneth, Leipzig, 1866, p. 113.

² Voyez Goncourt, *Marie-Antoinette*, p. 96.

aristocratique et vieux-jeu (chap. 12, § 3): "Candles and mahogany, silver and old lace" caractérisent ce milieu. Et, fait encore plus significatif: dans le roman *Those Delightful Americans* je lis au commencement du chapitre 6, après que la maîtresse de la maison a conduit ses hôtes *anglais* dans la chambre à coucher:

"'Good night,' said Mrs. Adams, 'and—oh, Cornelius (son mari) I have forgotten them. Will you ring?'"

De quoi s'agit-il? La maîtresse de maison continue, en s'adressant à ses hôtes:

"Will you take your—your *candles*, or shall I send them up?"

II. La sociologie du terme "gros"

Je lis à l'Université de Munich avec des étudiants le *Journal* du 11 novembre 1928, à la deuxième page. Pierre Benoit, l'excellent auteur de l'*Atlantide*, a interviewé Georges Clemenceau et rapporte les péripéties intéressantes de cette interview. Je m'efforce de montrer à mes étudiants comment le vieux positiviste de 1868 revient, à quatre-vingts ans, à ses premières amours, en écrivant un livre sur le peintre réaliste qu'était Claude Monet, en faisant donc de la physique sociale. Comme il voyage en positiviste pour se connaître lui-même! Comme il décline en positiviste tout intérêt pour ce qui sera après notre vie, cette vie étant pour lui la chose principale! Et Pierre Benoit résume ses impressions: "Ces paroles . . . m'ont consolé . . . d'être ressorti *Gros-Jean* comme devant quant au congrès d'Angers, quant aux articles 70-71, quant à la dette américaine."

Je traduis *Gros-Jean* par *dummer Hans*, et, voilà que quelqu'un, dans l'auditoire, me dit: "C'est plutôt *Prahlhans*; chez nous, dans le pays de la Moselle, on dit aussi *Gros-Jean* ou *Gross-Schang* ou bien *Gross-Hans* dans ce sens-là." Il est trop tard pour approfondir la question; je prends note de la remarque et je ne m'aperçois pas que *Prahlhans*, "fanfaron," n'est pas du tout à sa place; car M. Pierre Benoit a dit que, quant aux questions politiques, *Congrès d'Angers* (ce congrès a réuni le parti radical), *articles 70-71* (facilités à accorder aux congrégations enseignant à l'étranger), *dette américaine*, il est sorti aussi "ignorant" qu'il est entré chez M. Clemenceau, vu qu'il lui

avait parlé "voyage et philosophie" au lieu de lui parler "politique." Ainsi, pour sûr, M. Benoit a voulu dire "ignorant," "mal renseigné," en disant *Gros-Jean*.

Et si, dans le pays de la Moselle, on dit *Gross-Schang*, comme on dirait *Prahl-Hans*, on a simplement mal interprété le sens de la locution française. On l'a assimilé à une locution allemande qui existait avant l'importation de *Gros-Jean*: *Prahl-Hans* et qui, elle, avait le sens de "gascon," "fanfaron." Fait linguistique pas trop rare, mais significatif.—

Or, un malheur ne vient jamais seul: le lendemain, dans un cours de français commercial à la Technische Hochschule de Munich, je veux avoir, de la part des étudiants, un idiotisme pour désigner une "grande quantité de marchandises." Je m'attends à entendre *un lot important*, ce qui est le terme de la correspondance commerciale. Mais on me répond *un gros lot* et on explique qu'on a lu cela, à Paris, dans les expositions du Printemps. Et je suis forcé d'accepter la locution qui me paraît *grossière*.

Ceci se passait donc deux jours de suite. Le lendemain, j'achète, chez un libraire, les *Mémoires* de Madame du Hausset, femme de chambre de Madame de Pompadour, éd. M. F. Barrière, et je lis à la page 56:

"Le Roi se plaisait à avoir de petites correspondances particulières, que Mme (de P.), très souvent ignorait . . . 'C'est avec des personnes comme cela', me dit-elle un jour, 'que le Roi apprend des termes dont je suis toute surprise . . . Il m'a dit une fois, pour dire qu'une chose était vraisemblable: *il y a gros*. C'est un dicton du peuple, à ce que l'on m'a dit qui est comme: *il y a gros à parier*.' Je (la femme de chambre) pris la liberté de dire à Madame: 'Mais ne seraient-ce pas plutôt des demoiselles qui lui apprennent ces belles choses?' Elle me dit en riant: 'Vous avez raison, *il y a gros*.'"

Ce qui ressort de ces lignes, c'est que *gros* est un mot éminemment populaire, et—par contre—éminemment impopulaire à une Cour qui veut avant tout se distinguer du peuple, éminemment impopulaire dans une société qui imite la Cour.

Cet état de choses a subsisté jusqu'à la fin du XIX^e siècle; et, moi-même, j'ai hérité, pendant la partie de ma jeunesse que j'ai passée à Paris, de ce préjugé: On ne disait pas de quelqu'un

qu'il était *gros*, mais qu'il avait de l'*embonpoint*, qu'il était *fort*. Comme toujours, le mot populaire s'introduisait comme terme de tendresse, et l'on disait couramment: *Quel gros bébé! Donne ta grosse menotte!* "Mon pauvre gros," dit à une jeune fille (Lavedan, *Vieux Marcheur*, 1895, p. 299).

On ne disait ni *une grosse femme*, ni *une femme grosse* qu'en parlant des gens du commun. Une dame était *un peu forte*, le cas se présentant, elle était *enceinte*.

Mais, naturellement, c'est l'exception à laquelle on reconnaît la règle: une situation exceptionnelle, comme, par exemple, la tendresse, un esprit frondeur, la *nostalgie de la rue*, comme dirait un écrivain naturaliste, font toujours de ces exceptions-là.

Louis XV dit: *Il y a gros*, et il le dit avec intention. Et de même le Duc de Saint-Simon dit, en soulignant le mot populaire: "La Princesse d'Orléans et moi étions, comme, on dit, *gros* de nous voir" (*Mém.* t. VIII, p. 240, v. *Dict. Gén.*). Et, de même, entre étudiants et collégiens, on donne des sobriquets comme: *la grosse maman*, *le gros papa*, *la grosse légume* (sic!). Voilà pour le mot populaire *gros*.

Occupons-nous maintenant du mot *gros*, terme technique et terme de commerce. J'ai traité de cette matière dans mes *Cours de langue commerciale*, qui paraissent depuis l'année 1924 dans le *Spiegel van Handel en Wandel* (Rotterdam), publié par l'intrépide champion de la linguistique commerciale, M. Messing. On trouvera la source de ce qui suit, dans les numéros du mois de février et de mars, 1925:

En gros n'est probablement pas, à l'origine, le contraire de *en détail*. *En détail*, comme l'a démontré M. Wiener dans le *Zt. f. romanische Philologie* (XXXIV, p. 658), ne se disait, à l'origine, que de marchandises que l'on pouvait véritablement *détailler*, c'est-à-dire "couper." Dans le commerce des étoffes, on disait au XIII^e siècle: *vendre à détail*, et le contraire n'était pas *vendre en gros*, mais *entier* (Voyez Étienne Boileau, *Livre des Marchands*, 99, XXXIX). De même, il est clair que *vendre en gros* ne se disait pas, à l'origine, de marchandises liquides ou d'étoffes, mais bien de marchandises vendables *en grosses poignées*, *en bottes*, comme on dirait aujourd'hui. Ainsi Boileau prescrit: "Liniers à Paris doit vendre son lin *en gros*, par poignées, par pesiaus, par quartiers et bottelettes" (p. 117, 2).

Mais, d'un autre côté, on distinguait à Paris les termes *en gros* et *en détail* absolument comme aujourd'hui, dès le treizième siècle:

"Nus feniers ne doit donner courretage ("commission qu'on donne à un courtier") pour fein qu'il vende à détail, . . . mes se il avoit sa navée, ou sa grenche (grange) et il vendoit en gros, bien porroit avoir corratier (courtier) et donner courretage." (E. Boileau, 196, 5).

Ce terme *en gros*, *commerce de gros* passe dans presque toutes les langues commerciales. En anglais, il change, dans le mot *grocer*, son sens original "négociant en gros" pour désigner "l'épicier"; développement curieux, d'abord mélioratif, les marchands d'épices étant les plus importants; puis péjoratif, le commerce des épices ayant perdu son ancienne importance. Développement qu'a très bien étudié M. Fehr dans son étude: *Die Sprache des Handels in Altengland* (St. Gallen, 1909). Malgré cette péjorisation, on parle encore couramment d'un commerce *in gross*, en anglais moderne.

En France, la distinction entre le commerce de "gros" et le "détail" est consacrée au XVII^e siècle. Jacques Savary conseille à tout apprenti d'étudier les deux côtés distincts de tout commerce:

"C'est dans le *gros*, où l'on apprend les lieux d'où viennent les marchandises comme elles se manufacturent, . . . mais il ne suffit pas de connaître le gros seul: si c'est un fils de maître, qui fasse le gros, il est utile qu'il serve dans le *détail*, pour savoir toute sorte de commerce." (*Parfait Négociant*, T.I., p. 115.)

Pour les autres langues techniques, une étude du *Dictionnaire Général* suffira:

Dans la langue militaire, on parle du *gros de l'armée*. Dans la boucherie, on parle d'un *gros de langue*, "maniement impair du bœuf, dans la région inférieure de l'arrière-bouche." À l'école, on parle du *gros* ou de la *grosse*, "écriture en grosses lettres." Dans la reliure, le *gros* est un "cahier de 16 pages dans la feuille in-douze." Dans le commerce de la soie, le *gros de Naples* ou de *Tours* sont des "soies à gros grain," etc., etc.

Beaucoup de ces expressions ne sont comprises que dans leur milieu. Il n'y a que les termes du commerce qui entrent dans

tous les milieux et dans toutes les langues. Est-ce cet emploi commercial qui a rendu le mot *gros* tellement impopulaire à la Cour et dans la société élevée? En Allemagne, évidemment, le *Kaufmannsdeutsch* est méprisé, et on tâche de s'en distinguer.

Mais, en France, il y a plus que cela: il y a encore l'adjectif *grossier* que l'on prononce généralement avec un petit accent emphatique sur l'o. Et il y a encore, au moins en ancien français, le terme de commerce *marchand grossier* ou *grossier* tout court, qui correspond à l'anglais *grocer* (*grossere, grosseor*) dont nous avons parlé ci-dessus.

"Nus ne peut estre *grossier* que il n'achate le mestier," prescrit E. Boileau. Puis le mot tombe en désuétude et on ne dit plus que *commerçant en gros*. Est-ce que *grossier*, "commerçant en gros," a été péjorisé dans la langue des classes non commerçantes, ainsi que s'est péjorisé *vilain* ou *roturier*, "paysan"? C'est-à-dire: est-ce que *grossier*, "brutal," s'est développé comme vilain, "laid"? En effet, une grande partie des termes de commerce tend à la péjoration: En allemand, on appelle cette péjoration *Schelle*.

En français *usure* et *usurier* sont des exemples très significatifs de ce mépris. Ce sont, est-il besoin de le dire, des "méprises": car le sens original d'*usure* est objectif et ne signifie qu'"intérêt." Mais l'église interdisant tout intérêt, tout prêteur d'argent est devenu *usurier*. De même, le mot *barat*, à l'origine, ne signifie que "troquer," "marchander," sans accent subjectif, sans *méprise*: au Moyen Age, le mépris du commerce amène la même méprise et *barat* signifie "fraude." De même, en allemand, *tauschen* signifie "échanger," le *Rosstäuscher* c'est le "maquignon." Le mépris et la méprise engendrent *täuschen*, "tromper." Il n'est donc pas impossible que *grossier*, "commerçant en gros," et *grossier*, dans le sens de "brutal," appartiennent à une même tige de la généalogie du mot *gros*.

Toutefois, il faut convenir que tout ce qui est *gros* nous paraît "vulgaire," en Europe et dans la société élevée. Je dis *Europe*, parce que, en Asie, justement au contraire, être *gros* est le signe du bien-être et de la richesse, et le Dieu de la Félicité est toujours ventru et joufflu. Et je dis *société élevée* parce que, par exemple en Allemagne, le *peuple* dit *dick tun* dans le sens de

"faire son malin"; ce qui ne correspond pas trop mal à la façon de voir les choses en Asie. Donc, grossier, "brutal," pourrait très bien avoir été formé par la société élevée, sans penser du tout à *grossier*, "commerçant en gros," simplement par antipathie contre tout ce qui est "gros." Et *grossier*, "commerçant en gros," aurait disparu à cause de cette homonymie désagréable.

Que disent les textes? Ils ne disent rien ou très peu de choses, ce qui nous fournit un très curieux *argumentum ex silentio*:

Dans l'épopée *gros* est une qualification très rare: *Les poings sont gros, la hanste est grosse*, mais le héros ne l'est pas! Dans *Yvain*, le vilain du commencement a *grosse la teste* (295), un cheval est *gras et gros* (2226). Et puis c'est fini. Dans *Aucassin* le vilain a *unes grosses lèvres* . . . et *uns grans dens* (24, 18), et puis c'est encore fini.

Et c'est partout la même chose. Dans le commerce, ce n'est pas différent: On traite les affaires *en gros*; on prête à *la grosse*, — mais la désignation *grossier*, "qui fait le commerce de gros," est très rare, déjà au Moyen Age. On dirait que la source de la péjoration ne doit pas être cherchée dans le commerce, puisqu'il respecte le tabou.

Mais pour évoquer une réaction, il faut, au préalable, une action. Cette action a-t-elle été orale, de façon que nous n'en avons plus de témoignage? Ce n'est pas probable: *Gros* n'est péjorisé que pour les classes lettrées. Le peuple n'a jamais évité ce mot. La première partie de mon travail ne laisse aucun doute là-dessus.

Nous n'avons donc trouvé jusqu'ici qu'une *réaction* très répandue et très ancienne. Quoique très ancienne, elle est postérieure à 1066, l'Angleterre l'ignorant complètement et méliorant *grocer* au XIII^e siècle. Elle appartient donc probablement au mouvement civilisateur du XII^e siècle; et c'est dans les textes de ce siècle en effet que cette réaction apparaît, dès le commencement, dans toute sa vigueur.

Reste à chercher l'*action*. Evidemment cette action a été littéraire. Il est donc probable qu'il en reste des traces. Les textes que nous avons cités ne contiennent-ils pas d'indications plus précises? Si; *la grosse teste* et *les grosses lèvres* sont des

expressions tirées des traités médiévaux sur la *physiognomonie*. Ainsi, dans la traduction en ancien français de la *Science de Phisionomie*, attribuée à Aristote, que j'ai publiée dans *Romanische Forschungen* (XXIX, p. 680 ss., Bibl. nat. f. fr. 1822), nous lisons à la page 696 de la revue citée ci-dessus:

"Li mesdisans soloient avoir le *lèvre d'amont gros*. . ."
 "Les dormours ont communement *grosses testes et gros col*,"
 etc.

Dans le *Régime du Corps de Maître Aldebrandin de Siennne*, texte français du XIII^e siècle (éd. Landouzy et Pépin, Paris, 1911), nous lisons:

Un aliment est *gros*, c'est-à-dire qu'il n'est pas *soutieux* (102), il le fait donc mauvais user (118); "La char de vieille auwe (oie) engendre gros sang" (129), le nourrissement des fèves est "malvais et gros et venteus" (141), etc.

Là aussi, nous trouvons un *traité de physiognomonie*: Et, comme dans tous ces traités, tout ce qui est *gros* correspond à "bêtise," "grossièreté," "lenteur": "qui a les iex gros doit estre lens" (195), "qui a grans lèvres s'est sos" (196), "qui a les os du visage gros et cras . . . si est de grosse nature, et a malvais entendement" (196), "qui a le visage bien gros, si est lent et de gros entendement . . . ki a la vois grosse, est de malvais entendement" (197).

Dans presque tous les textes de la même farine, on trouvera des analogies. Notre compte est donc en règle: tout ce qui est "gros" a été péjorisé par la médecine, moitié pseudo-scientifique, moitié populaire, qu'approuvait la société chevaleresque du XII^e siècle. *Gros*, par là, est devenu le synonyme de "lent," de "mauvais entendement," de "sot," de "difficile à digérer." La tradition étant classique (*rudis, indigestaque moles!*), il s'agit d'un commencement de Renaissance formale: Un idéal de beauté et de santé, basé sur un préjugé contre tout ce qui est "gros" et "gras," vient de se former.

Et *Gros-Jean*? Cette locution est absolument fixée pour le sens: elle veut dire "ignorant," "bête," ainsi que l'indiquent les vieux traités de physiognomonie. Et l'erreur de la traduction allemande dans la Moselle est évidente et s'explique parfaitement par la confusion du mot français *gros* avec l'allemand *gross*,

"grand." Le peuple français n'a pas, en général, adopté le préjugé de la société élevée contre tout ce qui est "gros" et contre son terme. Toutefois, il s'entend avec la médecine populaire et les traités de physiognomonie, en attribuant à tout ce qui est gros la "grossièreté" et la "bêtise." Témoin la locution dont il a été question: témoin ce *Gros-Guillaume*, "pain grossier pour la nourriture des fermiers," que cite le *Dictionnaire Général* et qui rappelle le *Régime du Corps*.

Et le *Gros-Jean* de M. Pierre Benoit est doublement significatif. Le peuple n'évitait pas de dire *gros*, tout au contraire; mais, au fond, il lui donnait le même sens que la société élevée. Aujourd'hui, la littérature s'enrichit des mots populaires évités jadis et tend à se démocratiser.

Et l'histoire? Je n'ai trouvé qu'un seul exemple de l'emploi de *Gros-Jean* dans la littérature: C'est l'âne de la *Satyre Ménippé* qui s'appelle *Gros-Jean*. Nous lisons, au commencement de cette *Satyre*:

"un pauvre malotru meneur d'asne, qui pour haster son misérable baudet, dit tout haut en voix intelligible ces mots scandaleux et blasphématoires: '*Allons gros Jean aux Estats.*'"

"Lesquelles paroles ayant esté prises au bond . . . le Blasphémateur fut saintement et catholiquement condamné à estre battu et fustigé . . . à la queue de son asne, par tous les carrefours de Paris."

Dans mon exemplaire de la *Satyre* (Ratisbone, lisez Bruxelles, 1726), il y a une gravure représentant la fustigation de l'ânier à la page 344 du Ier volume, et, à la page 346, on lit l'explication de cette gravure en vers:

"Un pauvre asnier ne pensant pas
Que fust un crime manifeste
Dit: '*allons gros Jean aux Estats!*'
Pensant faire haster sa beste."

Ainsi le sens de cette locution, *Gros-Jean*, a toujours été le même: "âne," "imbécile," "ignorant."

LEO JORDAN

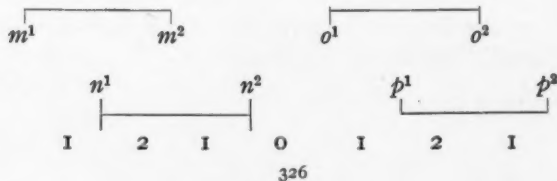
UNIVERSITÉ DE MUNICH

DANTE'S CHOICE OF THE *TERZA RIMA*

GAY as may have been the original uses of the *terza rima*, it possesses a characteristic which uniquely fits it to carry the most solemn of burdens. It is the only verse of alternately rhyming lines which, without unnecessarily taxing the memory for rhyme, keeps the anticipation of rhyme continually awake. In listening to the *terza rima* there is a *perpetual beyond* of sound before the auditory fancy. The idea of a *perpetual beyond* is the idea of the infinite; and we may well believe that the poet who first dared to write on eternal themes in popular speech gladly recognized the preëminent right of a popular verse to become its metrical dress. The missing third and fourth books of the *De Vulgari Eloquentia* may have answered the question. In their absence it can be shown by a strict argument that the problem of keeping the anticipation of alternate rhymes awake without unnecessarily taxing the memory for rhyme is solved by the *terza rima* solely. It is here added that the usual division of the *terza rima* into successive *terzetti* alone satisfies the poetic mind: and two other considerations are noted which may have influenced Dante.

I. The memory for rhyme is least taxed by a *single repetition*.

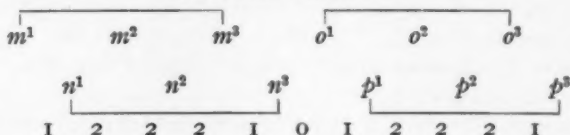
The resulting verse of alternately rhymed lines is shown in the following diagram. The different rhymes are indicated by different single letters, and the number of anticipations of different rhymes awakened between each pair of lines in an ear habituated to single rhyming are given beneath.



Between m^1 and n^1 the ear demands m^2 . Between n^1 and m^2 it demands n^2 and n^2 . Between m^2 and n^2 it demands n^2 . But between n^2 and o^1 it demands nothing. The tension of the ear lapsing, the musical continuity of the verse is broken. One repetition does not solve the problem.

II. The next smallest tax on the memory for rhyme is made by a *double repetition*. Shown in the same way the resulting verse admits two arrangements of rhyme.

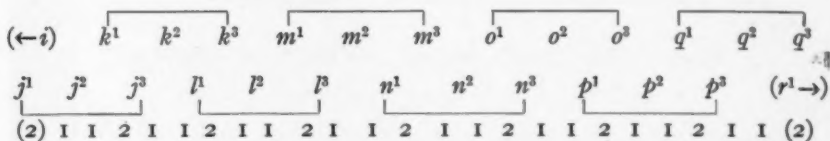
(A) Close Collocation



In like manner, from m^1 to n^3 there is either a single or a double anticipation in the ear of the hearer habituated to double rhyming; and from n^3 to o^1 there is none. The musical continuity of the verse is again broken. The problem remains unsolved.

(B) Open Collocation

Shown in like fashion the resulting verse is as follows:



In this open arrangement of double rhymes there is no lapse of auditory expectation at any point. The notion of a sound beyond what has been heard is ever present. Since neither single rhyming nor the close collocation of double rhymes brings this about, the problem stated is solved by the open collocation of double rhymes alone. This is the verse called the *terza rima*.

But it also appears that verse of this type can have neither beginning nor end. The specimen shown supposes another

rhyme *i* before *j*, and another rhyme *r* after *q*; and so on forever. The task remains to give it both beginning and end; that is to say, to create segments of *terza rima* which shall at once preserve its continual expectation of rhyme while leaving no line unrhymed.

Evidently the segment cannot begin at the entrance of any rhyme, as j^1 , or at the next line, as the supposed *i*, for this would leave *i* without a rhyme. Nor can it end at the departure of any rhyme, as q^3 , or at the line before, as the supposed *r*, for this would leave *r* without a rhyme. It can begin only on the first repetition of a rhyme, as j^2 , and end only on the first repetition of another, as q^2 . This device reduces the first and last rhymes of the segment from double to single; j^2 has only j^3 for a rhyme, and q^1 only q^2 .

In a segment so outlined each intermediate rhyme contributes three lines and the extreme rhymes together four. Whatever the number of double rhymes in the segment, the total number of its lines therefore comes to be three times the double rhymes, *plus one*, and plus also an extra line. Such a numerical result suggests writing the segment as a succession of groups of three lines each, with a final line added.

An auditory influence tends to strengthen the habit. The variation of the expectation of rhyme through which the ear passes in each triplet is the same as in every other.

$$\begin{array}{ccccccc} \overbrace{j^2k^1j^3} & \overbrace{k^2l^1k^3} & \overbrace{l^2m^1l^3} & \overbrace{m^2n^1m^3} & \overbrace{n^2o^1n^3} & \overbrace{o^2p^1o^3} & \overbrace{p^2q^1p^3} \quad q^2 \\ 1 \ 2 & 1 \ 2 & 1 \ 2 & 1 \ 2 & 1 \ 2 & 1 \ 2 & 1 \ 2 \end{array}$$

One expectation remains—that excited by q^1 —and is satisfied by the added line, q^2 .

A visual influence serves to fix the habit. The rhyming of each successive pair of triplets follows the same formula: *The inner line of the first rhymes with the outer lines of the second.*

Thus the hand, the ear, and the eye of the poet alike lead his mind to conceive of any segment of *terza rima* as a succession of groups of three lines to which a final line is added.

Every Canto of the *Divina Commedia* is so divisible into a series of *terzetti* with a closing line. The music of the verse

bears the hearer onward from each of these to the next until the addition of a single rhyming line brings the song to rest.

There are two other characteristics of *terza rima* which also suit it to an otherworldly subject matter.

The combination of alternate rhyming, which is a rhythm of twos, with double rhyming, which is a rhythm of threes, gives the same mingled impression of real order in apparent disorder which is obtained from music when one part moves in common time and the other in triple time.

Again, the harmonies of the verse do not change abruptly but gradually. The rhymes of the first couplet in the segment shown above (*jk*) are repeated by the second. In the third couplet one of them (*j*) is dropped for a third rhyme (*l*), and in the fourth couplet the other (*k*) is dropped for a fourth rhyme (*m*). The two new rhymes, third and fourth (*lm*), are repeated by the fifth couplet, the sixth couplet dropping one, and the seventh the other, as before. Thus, up to the last rhymes of the segment, its musical material is continuously renewed, part by part, after one repetition. Such a material presents at every dissolution and renewal an image of death as the gateway to another life.

These two characteristics of *terza rima*—one intimating mysteries, the other rebirth—may have coöperated with its suggestion of infinity to determine Dante's choice.

Can it reasonably be conceived that considerations so delicate, intricate, and remote really influenced the metrical dress of the *Commedia*? The question of its origin is to this day a fascinating riddle. Some critics have believed that Dante did not discover the *terza rima* but invented it. The *terzetti*, like the triple division of the poem, have been thought to represent the doctrine of the Trinity. It may be so. But why should the rhymes be interwoven as they are? One cannot but think that whether the *terza rima* was Dante's discovery or his invention, its subtle reminder of eternity really recommended it to him. That he found a mystic quality appropriate to his ineffable subject in its bewildering combination of double and triple rhythms may be more doubtful. That he ever thought

out the implication, of life made over, which may actually be descried in its progressive changes of rhyme, is perhaps an extravagant assumption. Yet one has only to read the elaborate expositions of the *Convito* to be prepared for the most occult meanings in all of Dante's verse.

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THE CAUSE OF THE BREAKING OF VULGAR LATIN OPEN E AND O

THIS subject, though of perennial interest, cannot yet be written into linguistic history as finally settled. Philologists are generally agreed that the breaking of open *e* and *o* has some causal relation to their lengthening under the stress accent in Imperial times, and that the Romance forms *ie*, *uo* are the result of dissimilation of broken *ee*, *oo*. But even here, Sievers is unwilling to attribute lengthening solely to what he calls the dynamic accent,¹ while Goidánich categorically denies the connection.²

The original recessive stress in Latin (to the second century B.C.) had caused important phonetic changes (weakening of post-tonic vowels and syllables). The later penultimate stress continued the process, causing other changes chiefly of two kinds: further weakening of non-tonic vowels, and the leveling of all tonic syllables so that every *short tonic* syllable became "long by nature": in other words, the short, free, tonic vowels were lengthened.³ The result was the appearance of two *new* vowels in Latin: *long open e* and *o*, different not only in length but also in some other essential respect from the *short e*, *o*, some of which latter (*viz.*, those in closed syllables) still remained.⁴ This

¹ *Grundsätze der Phonetik*, 1901, 843; he says that the dynamic accent protects short vowels; but it seems perfectly clear that, in both Germanic and Vulgar Latin, the presence of the accent is the one indispensable condition to lengthening of vowels, if not the cause of such lengthening.

² *Beiheft V* (1907) *zur ZrPh*, p. 124: "Nel latino non era avvenuta nessuna modificazione che potesse aver determinato il frangimento dell' *ē* e dell' *ō* e solo dell' *ē* e dell' *ō*" (to which I shall return presently); and p. 156: "si può prostrarre una vocale quanto si vuole senza che ne venga per ciò una vocale spezzata"—theoretically, perhaps, it is possible; but I have never heard any variety of actual human speech of which this could be observed; in every case, a slow enunciation inevitably involves some wavering of pitch, intensity or quality (or all three) in the vowel so uttered.

³ Convenient recent bibl. in Sturtevant, *The Pronunciation of Greek and Latin*, Chicago, 1920.

⁴ P. Passy, *Changements phonétiques*, §§ 293f: "En français . . . les brèves peuvent être considérées comme ayant le même timbre que les longues. Cependant il y a bien une petite différence." Cf. also §§ 305f, 309, 214.

difference between the new long open *e*, *o* and the old short open *e*, *o*, on the one hand, and the old long close *e*, *o*, on the other, must be recognized and taken into account, obviously, in explaining the succeeding developments which the vowels underwent. This has not always been done.

Early attempts to explain what happened next were, naturally, based upon speculation. Suchier, discussing the open *o*,⁵ believed that circumflex accentuation was the beginning of the breaking; that stronger accent causes stronger articulation of the first part of the vowel, resulting in deeper "Färbung," giving *úo*, which weakened or dissimilated to *úe*. Ascoli⁶ surmised also that Latin accented long open *e*, *o* were pronounced circumflex ("un proferimento 'tremolo' o 'bifido' o come altro s'immaginerà di chiamarlo")—a guess which Goidánich sought to confirm and develop by a comparison of Lithuanian accentuation, concluding that the supposed circumflex Latin vowels were so from the beginning, an inheritance from Indo-European.⁷ Meyer-Lübke⁸ thinks that a greater amount of energy is required to pronounce lengthened *ě*, *ǫ* under the accent, resulting in added tenseness which develops fricatives (*j*, *ɥ* respectively); in other words, the difference between the new and the old *e*, *o* was in the energy of articulation.

Many scholars, taking for granted the nature of the Vulgar Latin vowels, have proposed explanations of the process by which we arrive at the diphthongs.⁹ The one that has been generally accepted is the original series of Schuchardt: the long accented open vowels *e*, *o* are pronounced as two short ones: *ěě*, *ǫǫ*,¹⁰ the first element dissimilating in each case: *ee*, *oo*

⁵ *ZrPh*, II, 292.

⁶ *Arch. Glot. Ital.*, XIII, 1893.

⁷ *Op. cit.* The chief objection to Goidánich's conclusions is that the development of Latin vocalism under a series of changes in accentual systems: free in Indo-European, recessive in Old Latin, penultimate from the second century B.C. (to say nothing of pitch vs. stress systems), must make the persistence of such traits seem improbable.

⁸ *Gram.*, § 639.

⁹ Most of these are summarized in Goidánich, *op. cit.*, pp. 120ff (on Ascoli), and 154ff.

¹⁰ *Vokalismus d. Vulgärlat.*, I, p. 465, 1866: "Die Länge ist äqual der Summe zweier Kürzen"

becoming *ie*, *uo* (rising diphthongs, not falling).¹¹ In spite of Förster's objection¹² that Schuchardt's series is purely mechanical and lacks evidence to support it, it has remained the accepted statement.

As to the details of the process, there are Meyer-Lübke's theory of increased tenseness, already mentioned; Meillet's note¹³ that the change affects the *first* part of the broken vowel, so *ee* > *ie* (cf. *ei*, *ai* in Eng., High Ger., from broken long *i*; but how reconcile Old French *ei*, *ou* from close *e*, *o*?); Abbé Rousselot's "segmentation,"¹⁴ which describes the vowels as made up of a series of "on-glides" and "off-glides," the diphthongs resulting from a definite break somewhere along the line;¹⁵ Bruneau's similar theory, based likewise on a study of modern dialects, of "on-glides" and "off-glides" as the starting point for diphthongs;¹⁶ and Menéndez-Pidal's theory that the extra effort to pronounce them caused an exaggeration of the point of articulation of open *e*, *o* resulting in better definition (*i.e.*, closing) of the vowel just at the start, followed by the realization that the vowel was too close, and immediate correction to the open sound intended; so *ee*, *oo*, after which the less distinct (*i.e.*, the more open) element might vary almost infinitely, eventual

¹¹ As Havet, *Rom.*, VI, 321ff, Suchier, *loc. cit.*, and P. Passy, *op. cit.*, 457-459, thought, and Schuchardt showed, *ZrPh*, II, 187f, cannot be proved.

¹² *ZrPh*, V, 590.

¹³ *Mém. de la Soc. de Ling.*, XII, 32ff.

¹⁴ *Modifications phonétiques*, 1891, pp. 251-253.

¹⁵ He says (*ib.*) of Schuchardt's series: "si elle n'est pas fausse, cette hypothèse est au moins inutile. La qualité de la voyelle dépend du point où la segmentation s'est produite" in the progressive movement of the organs of speech (glides) in forming the vowel aimed at. It is strange that Rousselot's penetrating observations have not received more consideration by historical grammarians who have studied this phenomenon, for he has certainly pointed the way to its final explanation. Unfortunately his discussion is buried in what appears to be a sharply localized dialect study; besides, historical grammarians have not always felt complete confidence in the results of experimental phonetics (cf. the bibliographical notes in the first few pages of L. Roudet's *Éléments de phonétique générale*, 1910).

¹⁶ *Étude phonétique des patois d'Ardennes*, Paris, 1913, p. 462: "Il se peut que la langue ou les lèvres n'atteignent que progressivement la position exacte requise par la voyelle; il se peut qu'elles quittent cette position avant la fin de la voyelle . . . cet état d'incertitude précède immédiatement la fracture" in words like *męęr* (*mière*), *gręęn* (*graine*).

leveling (mostly to *ie*, *uo*) being due to influences chiefly non-phonetic.¹⁷

* * * *

That the problem is a physiological one is assumed in all these discussions. But of them all, only those of Meyer-Lübke, Rousselot (and Bruneau), and Menéndez-Pidal contemplate approach to the ultimate *causes* of the phenomenon, while only Goidánich and Rousselot (and Bruneau) meet Horning's inescapable challenge: ¹⁸ "Warum stellt sich bei lateinischem kurzem Vokal der *i*-Laut vor dem *e* ein, während er bei langem lateinischem Vokal dem *e* folgt?"

Certainly any consideration of the diphthongs resulting from long open *e*, *o* must be tentative and incomplete until it can be brought into systematic relation with the very different diphthongs (not as common, but geographically quite widely distributed in Romance dialects) resulting from close *e*, *o*.

It is equally clear that no theory or series of supposed forms can be regarded as adequate which fails to assign a credible cause, an initial moment, to the diphthongization, squarely opposed as it is to the whole current of Latin, Vulgar Latin and Romance phonology. Of all the Indo-European diphthongs which it had inherited, the Latin of the first centuries of the Christian era preserved, even in tonic syllables, only *au*; every possible shortening, syncope and apocope in non-tonic syllables had been, or was soon to be, effected by the stress accent. When the tonic vowels in open syllables became long, the long open *e*, *o* must be treated as novelties to the Latin sound system, which is not true of long close *e*, *o*.

An adequate explanation of the breaking of long open *e*, *o* must then combine three things: 1) it must be physiological, *i.e.*, it must be based on a difficulty or incongruity in Vulgar Latin *ē*, *ō*; 2) it must fit perfectly into an explanation of the broken close *e*, *o* based on the same set of observations and the same reasoning; 3) it must recognize and take into account the novelty in Vulgar Latin of long open *e*, *o* which makes it impossible to consider them in terms of older Latin vowels.

¹⁷ *Orígenes del Español*, 1926, p. 140.

¹⁸ *ZrPh*, XI, 411.

One set of facts in the story has been overemphasized: the forms recorded in dialects. One can find, in some dialect or other, almost anything, even falling diphthongs, representing open *e*, *o*. Rarely can sporadic variants throw true light on the general tendencies in the main body of a language, unless they can be worked broadly into the average.¹⁹ The languages (of sufficient importance to be more than local dialects) which lack the diphthongization, in whole or in part—*viz.*: Portuguese, Provençal, Rumanian and Sardinian—may appear at first sight to offer serious difficulty; but they are readily disposed of. It is natural to see in the remoteness of Portuguese and Sardinian an impediment to the spread of new developments in the general stream of Vulgar Latin; while Portuguese and Rumanian exhibit an unusually strong tendency to assimilate the accented to the following unaccented vowels, resulting in inflectional doublets (*e.g.*, Port. *porco* (< PORCU): *porcos*; *movo*: *moves*); in Rumanian a similar, though more complicated, anticipatory assimilation prevents breaking, *e.g.*, before close vowels, or in the presence of nasals (cf. Germ. doublets like **furi*: **fora*, and the Germ., Lat. raising of *e* to *i* before nasals). In Rumanian it is simpler to view such statements as those in Tiktin, *Rum. Elementarbuch* (22, 50), as special conditions *limiting* an established tendency to break the open *e*, *o* than to view the breaking (MOLA > *moarā*) as the exceptional development. The general limitation on breaking in Provençal is a more serious problem, as yet unexplained unless, indeed, it be due to an artificially fostered classical Latin tradition, as has been suggested.²⁰ At any rate, the breaking does exist in Provençal, only subject to certain restrictions.

It is trite and tedious to repeat that we have no earthly means of knowing how provincial Romans of fifteen centuries

¹⁹ P. Passy expresses a workable view, *op. cit.*, § 232: "Les éléments constitutifs d'une diphtongue peuvent varier presque à l'infini, sans que la différence soit bien sensible, pourvu que ses caractères généraux—le mouvement transitoire et la *direction* du mouvement—soient conservés." So all the dialectal varieties of the English word *eye* do not alter its general character. Menéndez-Pidal in the passage cited, and Jespersen, *Language: Its Nature, Development and Origin*, 1922, ch. XV, 5, may be taken to support this view.

²⁰ The reference I have mislaid.

ago twisted their tongues, when, as in the present case, their own records are silent. In the nature of things, no direct evidence as to the process of lengthening or the beginning of the diphthongization can be expected from contemporary documents. Even the *Oaths* of Strasburg fail to record the fully developed *ie*, *uo* (as against the *Eulalia*). We know only that the conditions for the breaking (**e-e*, **o-o*) must have existed in general Vulgar Latin before the dissolution of continuity. And we may assume that some tendencies firmly rooted in but distantly related modern languages, from one end of Europe to the other, must be age-old and universal.

Such a tendency is an occasional relaxation in the articulation of long vowels. It is most exaggerated in English, where no long vowel is hit squarely, once for all, but is either reached for or drawled away gradually, a diphthong resulting in either case (Sweet's "glides"); but it is also found far developed in German and Romance.²¹

Nevertheless, there must always be a starting point, a motive for the operation of this tendency in any particular case; that is, something must happen to make the particular long vowel, or series of long vowels, subject to the development of glides; otherwise the pure long vowels could never have existed in the first place. In Middle English and Middle High German, for instance, the weakened (shortened) endings apparently gave added weight to the root, requiring a readjustment of the original energy of articulation, *i.e.*, over-long vowels and glides. This is physiological, and we may expect to find the same sort of thing anywhere under similar conditions: whenever difficulty arises, the vowel will be slurred a little, one way or another, depending on circumstances, to ease pronunciation.

If ever there was a situation in a European language that would inevitably have set this general phonetic principle in action, that situation was produced by the development of the new long open *e*, *o* in Vulgar Latin. The vowels had come into

²¹ For the general theory, Sievers, *op. cit.*, §§ 101, 378-380; P. Passy, *op. cit.*, § 213; Roudet, *op. cit.*, ch. XV, 88; resultants like *feil* < *FILU*, *spoika* < *SPICA*, *pūa* < *PATRE*, etc., in Italian dialects, Goidánich, *op. cit.*, pp. 6, 8, *et passim*; in French dialects, Rousselot, *op. cit.*, p. 253.

existence, the result of internal²² phonetic processes in general comparable to those recorded in English and High German a millennium later. Heavy stress had been weakening (shortening) unstressed syllables and concentrating the original unit length of each word in one vowel (in very long words, in two vowels), with a remnant only of the others. The close vowels (*ī, ē, ō, ū*) and *a* would not be essentially changed, not noticeably different. But the lengthening of open *e, o* presented a new physiological problem. So far, Meyer-Lübke and Menéndez-Pidal are on the right track in tracing the development of these vowels to increased expenditure of energy.

Now the length of the vowel, and its position in an open accented syllable, gave ample time to produce the proper sound, obviating the necessity (present with short vowels, or with closed syllables, except in Spain) of making a quick stab, hit-or-miss, that might result in almost any sort of phonetic change. There was no chance of missing the sound of long open *e, o*: a mistake would have been too striking; they were pronounced quite accurately, as they still are;²³ in fact, to judge from modern French (*père* vs. *perron* for instance), we should not be surprised to learn that some exaggeration of correctness (openness) was common.

But in connected speech (there is, to be sure, no other speech), the organs are closed immediately before every vowel sound (except in hiatus), either because a consonant is there, as with the *o* in *novus*, or because the vowel begins the phrase, as with the first vowel of Vulgar Latin *OVO EST EN NIDO*. The mouth must then make a quick transition from the closed position to the wide-open position of the open vowel, and the accommodation is not instantaneous. The theoretical result would be a series

²² Tenney Frank's interesting suggestion that we investigate possible phonetic contributions from the swarms of orientals in the Empire during the first few centuries, *Am. Jour. Phil.*, XLV, 1924, 161-175, appears to be inapplicable to the present case; the developments we are considering seem indigenous, the contribution of that element in the population which never bothers to speak "the king's" English or any other language, yet controls the destiny of all language.

²³ Their general persistence for a dozen centuries disproves one part of Menéndez-Pidal's explanation, cited above, *viz.*, that relatively open vowels are less stable than closer ones.

of glides, "segmentation," etc., for all the open vowels, open *e*, *a* and open *o*.

It does not turn out to be so. There is no glide for the most open of all vowels, *a*. What we should expect, theoretically, to be the most violent transition is accomplished with such ease and instantaneous accuracy that no accommodation has ever occurred over any important section of the Romania (the change of *a* to *e* is, of course, an entirely different process). Evidently, the motive for the development of the glide was absent in the case of *a*.

Rousselot and Passy²⁴ suppose a series of glides for which we have no evidence; a series from which we might expect a differentiation between, say, the diphthong from TENET and that from PEDE (if all intermediate positions were filled by glides, then palatal glides (*ɨ*) would follow *t*, *d*, etc., as well as *k*, *g*; velar glides (*ɯ*) would follow *p*, *b*, etc., and we should have **puede* beside *tiene*). Thus the glide principle is not automatic, but requires considerable restriction. The organs of speech did not slide negligently from consonant position to vowel position; on the contrary, the vowel position was definitely, consciously aimed at, and, except in the case of open *e*, *o*, accurately attained.

Finally, Rousselot's "segmentation" does not occur in *ī*, *ū*, and does not satisfactorily dispose of the opposition between *ie* and *ei*, *uo* and *ou*.

The difficulties disappear when we take into account the novelty of the long open *e*, *o*. They alone required readjustment of articulation, or any other special effort, for the lengthened *ī*, *ā*, *ū* fell in perfectly with the old long *ē*, *ā*, *ō*, offering no difficulty, no motive for the development of glides. But the attempt to pronounce the open *e*, *o*, as these gradually lengthened in open tonic syllables, was never instantaneously successful: the first part of the vowel was not quite open enough, though aimed in the right direction, a sort of less tense, less distinct *e*, *o* (not *more* tense, as Meyer-Lübke, or more distinct, as Menéndez-

²⁴ P. Passy, *op. cit.*, § 213: "Si je dis [ba], par exemple, [b] se prononçant avec les lèvres fermées et [a] avec la bouche grande ouverte, il y a de toute nécessité un moment entre les deux où mes lèvres sont entr'ouvertes, dans la position qui devrait engendrer et qui engendre effectivement [U] . . . ou plus exactement, une succession de tous les sons intermédiaires entre [b] et [a]".

Pidal would have it), and quite devoid of stress: the stress would necessarily be on the vowel, not on the glide, at the beginning of the development. Whatever the transition sound may have been (it is the sort of thing that varies infinitely), it sufficed to *break* the long open *e*, *o* into **e*, **o*, and allow the (generally accepted) dissimilation to begin its work. Schuchardt's series is justified from this point on.

We have at the same time disposed of the close vowels. They were, in the first place, old, stable sounds which Latin speakers had never had any difficulty in pronouncing (even in compounds like *accēdo*, cf. *incīdo*, *accido*).²⁵ The only development which they undergo is the result of a phonetic tendency that is not specifically Romance at all (cf. English), and so not to be explained in terms of Romance linguistics alone: the trailing off of close vowels into still closer glides,²⁶ eventually giving the types *ei*, *ou* (and, sporadically, comparable developments of *i*, *u*).²⁷

HENRY DEXTER LEARNED

ASHEVILLE, NORTH CAROLINA

²⁵ Lindsay, *Lat. Lang.*, ch. III, § 30.

²⁶ Cf. Schuchardt, *op. cit.*, I, 168; Förster, *ZrPh*, V (1881), 590.

²⁷ Cf. P. Passy, *op. cit.*, § 457 end.

MISCELLANEOUS

PATIENT GRISELDUS

It is well known that the story which Chaucer put into the mouth of his Clerk has its roots in fairyland, although Boccaccio's novel and its literary offspring know nothing of fairies. I have no intention of discussing the point in the present paper. I wish to confine myself to one group of analogues: fairy tales in which the lord, not the lady, undergoes trials that strain patience to the utmost. The type may be named the "male Griselda," or, more simply, "Griseldus." Nearly a hundred years ago Loiseleur, in his edition of a story of this type, pointed out its resemblance to the Griselda tale. He says,

"Les conditions imposées au roi Rusvanschad par Scheheristany, et le sacrifice des deux enfans, me semblent avoir quelque rapport avec le joli conte si connu de *Griselidis*."¹

But since Loiseleur makes no detailed comparison of the two tales and mentions no further examples of the Griseldus type, he cannot be said to have exhausted the subject.

The tale of Ruzvanschad and Scheheristany begins in the sixteenth day of the *Mille et un Jours*, and ends in the thirtieth day. Since however it is interrupted in the nineteenth day and not resumed until the twenty-sixth, its telling consumes only seven or eight days. An outline of the tale follows, with a similar outline of Boccaccio's tale alongside:

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| 1. Scheheristany, a young fairy princess, falls in love with a human being, Ruzvanschad, the young king of China. | Gualtieri, the young marquis of Saluzzo, takes a fancy to Griselda, a poor country girl. |
| 2. S. is reluctant to yield to her passion, but finally decides to make R. her husband. | G. is reluctant to marry, but yields to the pleas of his subjects, and decides to make Gr. his wife. |
| 3. S. meets R., with his vezir Muezin, by a fountain, and wins his love. She arranges to send for him at the proper time and make him her husband. M. is dubious about it all but of course must submit. | G. meets Giannucolo, the father of Gr., and informs him of his decision. Gi. is dubious about it all (as we later learn) but of course must submit. |
| 4. In due time R. is sent for, and is led into the presence of S., who tells him she wishes to marry him that day. | In due time G. goes to the house of Gi. He finds Gr. carrying water from the well. He tells Gi., in Gr.'s presence, that he has come to marry Gr. |
| 5. Before the marriage, S. reminds her subjects that they are under oath to obey her absolutely, and announces to them that she is going to marry R. and expects them to pay him due honor. They accept her decision, in spite of the fact that R. is no fairy but a mere man. | Before the marriage, G. reminds his subjects that they have promised to accept as their mistress whatever bride he may choose and to pay her due honor. The people declare themselves content, and confirm their promise. |

¹ *Les Mille et un Jours, Contes Persans*, ed. A. Loiseleur-Deslongchamps, Paris, 1840, p. 45, col. 2, note 1.

6. Before the marriage, S. exacts of R. a promise that if she should do anything displeasing to him, he will submit without a murmur. R. says, *Croyez que vous aurez toujours sur moi un empire absolu, et que je n'aurai jamais d'autre volonté que la vôtre. . . . loin de blâmer vos actions, je jure que je les approuverai toutes.*
Before the marriage, G. asks Gr. whether she will make it her study to please him, and not be uneasy at any time, whatever he may do or say, and whether she will always be obedient. To all these questions she answers yes.
7. The marriage is now celebrated with great pomp and splendor.
The marriage is now celebrated with great pomp and splendor.
8. After a year of married life, S. gives birth to a beautiful son. All the fairies rejoice.
Within a short time, Gr. becomes pregnant, and in due course gives birth to a daughter. G. makes great rejoicings.
9. R. picks up the child, kisses it, and gives it to S., who throws it into the fire. At once fire and child disappear.
Gr. picks up the child, kisses it, and gives it to a servant of G.'s, who at once bears it off.
10. R. believes that S. has murdered the child, but makes no complaint.
Gr. believes that G. has had the child murdered, but makes no complaint.
11. After another year S. gives birth to a daughter even more beautiful than her first-born. All the fairies celebrate the birth by festivities that last three days.
Later Gr. gives birth to a second child, a son. G. is extremely pleased at this.
12. A few days later S. gives the child to a great white bitch, which carries it off.
The servant of G. bears off the second child as he bore off the first.
13. R. believes that his second child like his first has been murdered, and is terribly distressed, but makes no complaint.
Gr. believes that her second child like her first has been murdered, and is terribly distressed, but makes no complaint.
14. Unable to keep silent longer, R. resolves to put himself out of temptation's way by leaving his wife. He therefore asks and obtains permission to return to his own country. S. tells him he is needed in China, and has one of her subjects carry him thither in a twinkling.
G. pretends to divorce his wife, and tells her to go back to her old home. She goes back submissively.
15. The vezir, M., welcomes him, and R. resumes his old duties.
Gr.'s father, Gi., welcomes her, and Gr. resumes her old duties.
16. While R. is campaigning against the Mongols, his wife destroys his army's store of provisions, and sends him word that it was she who did it.
G. pretends he is to marry again, makes Gr. take charge of the preparations for the marriage, and ends up by asking her how she likes the pretended bride.
17. R.'s patience is at an end. He reproaches his wife for her conduct.
Gr.'s patience is at an end. She warns her husband that he must not treat his new wife as he has treated her.

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| 18. S. explains that (1) the food had been poisoned by a traitor and its destruction was therefore needful, (2) the fire and the bitch were a salamander and a fairy who had taken the children off to educate them. | Gr. learns that (1) the divorce was only a pretence and the remarriage was therefore a pretence too, (2) the children were not dead, but had been taken off to Bologna to be educated (the reader had learned this earlier). |
| 19. S. summons the children and shows them to their father. | G. presents the false bride and her brother to Gr. as her children. |
| 20. S. leaves R., telling him that because of his disobedience he will never see her again. | Wanting. |
| 21. R. shuts himself in his apartment and mourns 10 years for S. | Wanting. |
| 22. S., convinced of R.'s repentance, restores him to his place as her husband. | G., convinced of Gr.'s perfect humility and obedience, restores her to her place as his wife. |

In the following discussion, I will refer to Boccaccio's version as the *Novel* (abbreviated *N*), and to the version in the *Mille et un Jours* as the *Histoire* (abbreviated *H*). Yet another version was published anonymously by Josef von Hammer in 1813, in the collection of oriental stories to which he gave the title *Rosenöl*. Since the collection is not easily accessible, I will reproduce in full the version which he prints:

"Es herrschte in China ein mächtiger kaiser, ein grosser liebhaber der jagd. Einmal stiessen ihm auf dem wege zwey schlangen auf, eine schwarze und eine weisse, in tödtlichem kampf miteinander begriffen. Die weisse schien ihrem ende nahe. Der kaiser hieb die schwarze entzwey, liess die weisse auf ein maulthier aufladen, und befahl, dass man sie in sein kabinet trage, um sich dort zu erholen. "Am nächsten morgen, als der kaiser ins kabinet gieng, fand er eine schöne himmlische gestalt, die sich sogleich als eine Peri zu erkennen gab, und ihm dankte, dass er sie gestern aus den klauen eines Diwes, der sie als schwarze schlange zu erdrosseln drohte, gerettet hatte. Begehre von mir, sprach sie, was du willst, ich will dir's gerne geben, um dir meine dankbarkeit zu bezeigen. Willst du schätze? —Ich habe deren genug, antwortete der kaiser. Soll ich dir die geheimnisse der arzneykunde entdecken?—Ach! an ärzten fehlt es mir nicht, und ich habe deren immer mehr, als ich brauche.—Nun so wirst du meinen dritten anbot nicht in den wind schlagen. Ich habe eine schwester, die schönste der Peris, ich verschaffe sie dir zur frau, und du wirst glücklich seyn mit ihr, wenn du nur eines versprichst und hältst.—Was denn?—Sie nie um das warum ihrer handlungen zu fragen; lass sie thun, was ihr beliebt, nur frage nie, warum sie dies und jenes gethan, sonst fliegt sie dir auf der stelle davon, und du bekommst sie nie wieder zu sehen. Der kaiser versprach alles, und die vermählung gieng bald hernach vor sich. Die Peri war so schön, dass es dem kaiser unmöglich schien, sich nur einen augenblick von ihr zu trennen. Nach neun monden ward sie von einem knaben entbunden, rein und zart, wie eine perle. Bald nach der geburt sah der kaiser ein helles feuer aufflammen vor der thür. Die kaiserin wickelte ihr kind in ein seidenes tuch, und warf es in's feuer, das sogleich damit verschwand. Der kaiser weinte, und riss sich den bart aus vor schmerzen, aber zu fragen traute er sich nicht, warum sie das gethan. Sie kam mit einem mädchen nieder, das durch den glanz seiner schönheit sonne und mond verdunkelte. Die mutter wickelte es in ein seidenes tuch ein; bald darauf erschien an der thüre eine schwarze bärin, der die mutter das kind in den rachen warf, und die damit verschwand. Der kaiser hätte verzweifeln mögen aus schmerz. Er riss sich bart und haare aus, aber zu fragen traute er sich nicht; was war zu thun; geduld und ergebung, um sich das leben nicht umsonst zu verkümmern.

"Nach kurzer zeit drohte ein mächtiger feind China mit krieg zu überziehen. Der kaiser befahl dem heere, sich mit proviant zu versehen auf siebentägigen marsch, denn man musste die wüste passiren. Am fünften tage kam die kaiserin mit einem grossen messer in der hand, schnitt die brodsäcke und wasserschläuche entzwey, verstreute den ganzen proviant, so dass kaiser und heer dem hungertod nahe gebracht waren. Was zu viel ist, ist zu viel, rief der kaiser, ich sehe wohl, dass eine verbindung mit Peri's für menschen nichts taugt, und dass es blos auf mein verderbniss abgesehen ist. Meiner kinder hat sie mich beraubt, nun will sie auch mich und mein heer zu grunde richten.

"Der kaiser stellte seine frau zur rede. So könnt ihr menschen doch nie durch volles vertrauen euch einer Peri würdig machen, antwortete sie; immer müsst ihr euer glück durch unzeitigen vorwitz verscherzen; armer kaiser! wie dich deine neugierde noch dauern soll; doch will ich sie vor der hand befriedigen. Zuerst wisse, dass dein wesir, an die feinde verkauft, heute brod und wasser vergiftet hat, um dich und dein ganzes heer zu grunde zu richten. Das kind, das ich ins feuer warf, hatte einen natürlichen konstitutionsfehler, und würde drey tage nicht überlebt haben; das mädchen ist noch am leben, die bärin, der ich es anvertraut habe, ist eine amme, die dasselbe säugt und leckt. Du sollst dein töchterchen wieder haben, aber die mutter bekommst du nicht mehr zu sehen. Sogleich brachte die bärin das kind herrlich mit juwelen ausgestattet, und die Peri entfloß."²

The version given above may be called the *Rosenöl* version (abbreviated *R*). The *töchterchen* of *R* was named Balkis, and afterwards became Queen of Sheba. A somewhat different account of the parentage of Balkis appears in G. Weil's *Biblische Legenden der Muselmänner*. This account reads as follows:

"Der letzte könig von Saba . . . hatte einen vizier von altem himiaritischem königstamme, der so schön war, dass selbst töchter der djinn wohlgefallen an ihm fanden, und ihm häufig in gazellengestalt in den weg traten, nur um ihn zu sehen. Eine derselben—ihr name war Umeira—empfand eine so heftige liebe für ihn, dass sie den unterschied zwischen mensch und djinn vergass, und ihm eines tages, als er auf der jagd war, in der gestalt einer reizenden jungfrau erschien und ihm ihre hand antrug, jedoch unter der bedingung, dass er ihr folge, und nie über ihre handlungen rechenschaft von ihr verlange. Der vizier fand diese djinnstochter so erhaben über alle menschliche schönheit, dass er vor liebe seiner gar nicht mehr mächtig war, und ohne bedenken in alle ihre vorschläge einwilligte. Sie zog dann mit ihm auf eine insel des oceans, wo ihre heimat war und heiratete ihn. Nach neun monaten gebar sie eine tochter, die sie Balkis nannte und nicht lange nach dieser geburt trennte sie sich von ihrem gatten, weil er zu wiederholtenmalen, wie einst Moses bei Alchidhr, wenn er ihre handlungen nicht begreifen konnte, den grund derselben wissen wollte. Der vizier kehrte daher mit Balkis wieder in seine heimat zurück."³

In the following Weil's version will be referred to as *W*. The reference to Moses and Al-Chidhr takes us back to an earlier chapter of Weil's work, a chapter devoted to Moses and Aaron. As the legend goes, Moses became too proud of his wisdom, and God sought to cure him by sending him to Chidhr. The two prophets met, and greeted each other. Moses asked Chidhr to take him as a follower:

"Gestatte mir, dich auf deinen wanderungen durch die welt zu begleiten, damit ich die weisheit bewundere, die dir Gott geschenkt.—Du kannst sie nicht fassen und wirst daher auch nicht lange bei mir ausharren.—So Gott will, wirst du mich gehorsam und geduldig finden, verstosse mich nur nicht!—Du kannst mir folgen, doch darfst du mich über nichts fragen, bis ich dir von selbst die nötige aufklärung über meine handlungen gebe.—Als sich Moses dieser bedingung unterwarf, nahm ihn Al-Chidhr mit sich bis an das meeresufer, wo ein schiff vor anker lag. Al-Chidhr nahm dann ein beil und schlug zwei balken aus dem schiffe, so dass es untersank.

² *Rosenöl*, Stuttgart und Tübingen, 1813, vol. I, pp. 162–165.

³ G. Weil, *Biblische Legenden der Muselmänner*, Frankfurt-am-Main, 1845, pp.

Was thust du da? rief Moses, die leute, die im schiffe sind, ertrinken ja! Habe ich dir nicht gesagt, erwiederte Al-Chidhr, du wirst nicht lange geduldig bei mir ausharren? Verzeihe mir, sprach Moses, ich habe mein versprechen vergessen. Al-Chidhr zog dann weiter mit ihm, bis sie einem schönen knaben begegneten, welcher am meeresufer mit muscheln spielte. Al-Chidhr zog ein messer aus der tasche und schnitt ihm den hals ab. Warum mordest du ein unschuldiges kind, fragte Moses wieder, das auf keine weise den tod verdient haben kann? du hast ein grosses verbrechen begangen. Habe ich dir nicht gesagt, erwiederte Al-Chidhr, du kannst nicht lange in meiner gesellschaft reisen? Vergib mir nur diesmal noch! versetzte Moses, stelle ich dich noch einmal über etwas zu rede, so verstosse mich! Sie reisten nun lange umher, bis sie müde und hungrig in eine grosse stadt kamen. Aber kein mensch wollte sie beherbergen, noch ihnen ohne geld eine speise oder einen trank reichen. Da sah Al-Chidhr, wie die mauer eines schönen hauses, aus welchem er war fortgejagt worden, einzustürzen drohte; er stellte sich davor und stützte sie, bis sie wieder aufrecht stand, dann befestigte er sie und gieng fort. Da sagte ihm Moses: du hast hier eine arbeit vollbracht, welche viele mauer mehrere tage lang beschäftigt hätte; warum hast du nicht wenigstens einen lohn begehrt, damit wir dafür nahrung kauften? Jetzt sind wir geschieden, sagte Al-Chidhr, doch will ich dir vorher über meine handlungsweise rechenschaft ablegen. Das schiff, das ich beschädigt habe, das aber leicht wieder herzustellen ist, gehört armen leuten, denen es zur einzigen nahrungsquelle dient. Zur zeit, als ich es durchbohrte, kreuzten viele schiffe eines tyrannischen königs in jener gegend, welche jedes brauchbare schiff mit sich schleppten. Durch mich haben also diese armen schiffer ihr einziges gut erhalten. Der knabe, den ich umgebracht, ist der sohn frommer eltern; er selbst war aber, das sah ich ihm an, von schlechter natur und hätte am ende auch noch seine eltern zum bösen verleitet; darum habe ich ihn lieber getödtet; Gott wird ihnen an seiner stelle fromme nachkommen schenken. Was endlich die mauer angeht, die ich aufgerichtet, so gehört sie zwei waisen, deren vater ein frommer mann war. Unter der mauer ist ein schatz vergraben, welchen die jetzigen bewohner des hauses, wenn sie eingestürzt wäre, sich zugeeignet hätten, darum habe ich sie befestigt, damit er in sicherer verwahrung bleibe, bis die kinder erwachsen sind. Du siehst nun, fuhr Al-Chidhr fort, dass ich in allem nicht blinder leidenschaft gefolgt bin, sondern nach dem willen meines herrn gehandelt habe. Moses bat Al-Chidhr nochmals um verzeihung, wagte es aber nicht, um die erlaubniss anzuhalten, ihn noch weiter zu begleiten."⁴

As regards the sources of these tales, there is available a certain amount of information. Pétis de la Croix, the translator of the *Mille et un Jours*, tells us that he got the collection from a certain Persian dervish, Mocles by name, who permitted him to make a copy of the Persian manuscript, in the year 1675, at Ispahan. From Loiseleur's biography of Pétis de la Croix, prefixed to his edition of the *Jours*, we learn that Pétis in fact lived in Ispahan for two years, from 1674 to 1676. Mocles and his Persian manuscript are known to us, however, only through Pétis, and since the story-collection in great part corresponds to a Turkish collection preserved in a number of manuscripts, it has been supposed that Pétis actually used a Turkish manuscript as his source. In particular, our story *H* appears as tale No. 4 in the Turkish collection.⁵ That *H* is a genuine oriental tale cannot be doubted, although its Persian provenience is highly doubtful. The compiler of *Rosenöl* tells us (I 162) that he took the story of Balkis's birth from Al-thabari. Weil gives a general list of his sources (pp. 10 f.) but does not specify which one he used for the story of Balkis, or for the story of Moses and Chidhr.

It is obvious that our pursuit of the patient Griseldus has taken us to Arabia and to the legends that cluster around the figure of the Queen of Sheba. Into this

⁴ G. Weil, *op. cit.*, pp. 176-181.

⁵ See W. Pertsch, *Die Handschriften-Verzeichnisse der kgl. Bibliothek zu Berlin*, vol. VI, pp. 448 f., 583 (Berlin, 1889).

territory I will not go. Professor D. D. Griffith, of the University of Washington, writes me that in his forthcoming book on the Griselda legend he will deal with the Sheba stories in detail. I do not wish to anticipate his discoveries or his conclusions. I have therefore confined myself here to an elaboration of the point already made by Loiseleur, and to the citation of parallels already pointed out (though not connected with Griselda) by Chauvin in his monumental bibliography.⁶ While we are waiting for Mr. Griffith's volume, the present paper may at least serve as a stopgap, and the comparison, trait by trait, of *N* and *H* may prove to be of more than passing utility.

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NOTES ON ANTI-PETRARCHISM IN SPAIN

THE first anti-Petrarchistic document in Spain is Boscán's introductory letter to the second part of his poems.¹ In one of its opening paragraphs he enumerates the objections of his opponents.

"Los unos se quexaban que en las trovas deste arte los consonantes no andaban tan descubiertos, ni sonaban tanto como en las castellanas. Otros decían que este verso no sabían si era verso o si era prosa. Otros argúan diciendo que esto principalmente había de ser para mujeres, y que ellas no curaban de cosas de substancia sino del son de las palabras y la dulzura del consonante."

In other words, the budding Italian school was denied all the fundamentals of true poetry—rhythm, form and substance. Boscán tells us that he was concerned and discouraged at this criticism; and, but for the staunch support of Garcilaso, he would have yielded in the argument.

A few years later the criticism of these anonymous enemies found expression in the celebrated *coplas* of Castillejo: *Contra los que dexan los metros castellanos y siguen los italianos*.² We strongly suspect that in his abode far away from the center of literary strife the only examples of Petrarchism intimately known to him were the *Obras de Boscán y Garcilaso*. He certainly would have given Mendoza and Haro more prominence in the poem if he had had any real acquaintance with their compositions. One cannot escape the further conclusion that in Boscán's letter he found the material for his brilliant satire. If closely examined the objections against the Italian style in the poem, and those voiced in the letter, are the same. There, too, is to be found the criticism supposedly made by Boscán and Garcilaso against the old school. Finally the reference to the use of the hendecasyllable contradicts Boscán's self-proclaimed primacy in the same letter. In the face of these arguments it would seem, provided we do not choose to regard the *coplas* as a good-natured jibe at his opponents, that Castillejo did not possess enough sincerity and self-conviction to make him a factor in retarding the triumph of the Italian school even if he had been living in Spain at the time, contrary to the opinion repeated by literary historians from Bouterwerck to Fitz-Maurice Kelly.³ The satirical stanzas of

⁶ V. Chauvin, *Bibliographie des Ouvrages Arabes*, vol. VI, p. 180 (No. 343).

¹ *Obras de Boscán y Garcilaso* (W. L. Knapp ed.), Madrid, 1875, pp. 165-173.

² In *Biblioteca de Autores Españoles* (*Poetas Líricos de los Siglos XVI y XVII*), Madrid, 1854, vol. XXXII, pp. 157-159.

³ In this connection I should be willing to accept the statement of Sanvisenti in "Un giudizio nuovo su Cristóbal de Castillejo nei suoi rapporti coll'italianismo

Silvestre,⁴ quoted frequently alongside the *coplas*, are obviously inspired by Castillejo's poem and are much its inferior. Henceforward, anti-Petrarchism passes from general opposition to Petrarchism to censure of some of the weaknesses of Petrarchism.

In a *Carta en Tercetos Satirica enviada por Figueroa a un amigo M(ontano)*, the author inveighs against those sonneteers who, though wholly incompetent in the art of poetry, write sham sonnets, and who with all their pretense to erudition are nothing if not downright plagiarists.

Yo quisiera, señor, tener paciencia
Para poder callar esto que scrivo;
Mas fáltame el saver y la prudencia.

Porque según mi condición rescivo
De ver algunas cosas tanto enfado,
Que aun os espantareis de como vivo.

L-14

Yo soy un moço alegre, taño y canto,⁵
Sé vaylar, sé dançar, apodo y juego,
Digo un dicho, murmuro tanto quanto.

También siento de amor un poco el fuego,
Hago coplas, estudio, y esto es todo;
Mas ved agora de lo que reniego!

Ay por acá unos hombres de tal modo,
De trato tan cansado y enfadoso,
Que queréis dar con ellos en un lodo,

Heridos deste mal contagioso,
Desta plaga, esta negra poesia,
Que los tiene sin seso y sin reposo;

Desvanecidos, muertos, noche y día
De caçar por los ayres un concepto,
Que viene a dar después en eregia.

Salir os an después con un soneto,
Al que yo llamo hypócrita, aunque tiene
Gran fee—pero sin obras, yo os prometo.—

L-67

Tienen una sovervia endemoniada,
Pensando que ellos saben solamente,
Sabiendo todos que no saben nada.

Y dirános, señor, aquí no hay gente
Que tenga erudición ni sepa el arte,

spagnuolo" (*Atti della Regia Accademia delle Scienze di Torino*, XL, 1904, extract 10 pp.) regarding the *coplas* as a literary artifice, but see no reason for attributing the attack to malicious envy. On p. 8 he says: "ora dall'invidia del connazionale, cui più volonterosa sorrideva la gloria, facilmente passò il Castillejo, spirito mobile in estremo, all'astio contra la scuola cui egli apparteneva, e però al desiderio di porla in derisione."

⁴ Cited in *Bibl. de Aut. Esp.*, loc. cit., p. 159.

⁵ Figueroa's dates are 1536-1617 (?). If the poem is authentic and the author is veracious in alluding to his age, we must accept the fact that he is speaking of conditions before the dawn of *cullerianismo*.

Si no que versifique solamente.

L-85
Y es tanta su ygnorancia y su rudeça,
Tan poco su saber, tal su exercicio,
Que nada os mostrarán de su agudeza.

Antes aquestos tienen por oficio
Adornarse y vestirse de lo ageno,
Pues no ay castigo deste malificio.

No porque sepan qual es malo o bueno,
Ni donde mora Delpho ni Parnaso,
Ni el prado por abril de flores lleno.

Veréislos acotar a cada paso
Con el Dante y el Benbo y el Tansilo
Con Petrarca y Oracio y Garcilaso.⁶

Petrarch's poetry had fallen lamentably low in the esteem of some second rate Spanish poets, to the point of their declaring that the *Canzoniere* contained little that was good. The anti-Petrarchists of this type Juan de la Cueva satirizes in a sonnet addressed to Francisco de Rioja:

Cuatro sonetos hallan en Petrarca
Buenos según acuerdo de un poeta,
Qu'entre los farfullistas desta seta
En el Parnaso aspira a ser monarca,
Otro qu'el Pindo y todo el mundo abarca
Dice (y mas qu'el primero el lazo aprieta)
Que tres sonetos de poesía perfecta
Sin ser fechados y sin marca.
Esta opinión sacrílega divulgan
Contra el Arno sagrado y triunfal Tebro,
Y al laureado Betis descomulgan,
Si vos, Rioja, honor del Tajo y Ebro,
No reponéis la cisma que promulgan
Estos cicatrizados de cerebro.⁷

At least once in *Don Quijote* Cervantes satirizes the prevailing poetic mode. In Chapter XXXVIII, Part II, through the supposed Countess Trifaldi he banteringly protests against one of the favorite imitations from Petrarch. After telling of the fascination that a lover-troubadour exerts on her, she continues:

"Y si yo fuera la buena dueña que debía, no me habían de mover sus trasnochados conceptos, ni havia de creer ser verdad aquel decir, *vivo muriendo, ardo en el hielo, tiembo en el fuego, espero sin esperanza, pártome y quedome, con otros imposibles desta ralea, de que están sus escritos llenos.*"

In *Privilegios, ordenanzas y advertencias que Apolo envía a los poetas españoles* he ridicules the Petrarchistic tendency of comparing the beauties of women to the stars, signs and planets.⁸

Bartolomé Leonardo de Argensola joins Cervantes in protesting against similar

⁶ See an article by Menéndez Pidal, "Observaciones sobre las Poesías de Francisco de Figueroa," *Boletín de la Real Academia*, II, 1915, pp. 336-338.

⁷ *Obras*, Seville, 1582. Cited by Gallardo, *Ensayo*, II, p. 675.

⁸ See a note by Castro in his edition of Quevedo's *Historia de la Vida del Buscón*, Madrid, 1927, p. 118.

figures of speech, and against the insincere lamentations of the Petrarchistic poets, in a *Sátira*:

.....
 Mas si tu ninfa celebrar codicias,
 Sabe que, aunque poético el ornato
 Le acumule riquezas translaticias,
 Las translaciones duras, como ingrato
 Lustre, las huye, en desatando el hilo
 A sus lisonjas, la benigna Erato.
 ¡Será bien que sin forma y sin estilo
 Luzgan en la hermosura los despojos
 Espléndidos del Ganges y del Nilo?
 ¡Záfiro o esmeraldas son los ojos,
 Y diamantes la tez, perlas los dientes,
 Y encendidos rubies los labios rojos?
 ¡Las manos (que a marfiles excelentes
 Imita su candor) serán cristales,
 Si no se han de preciar de transparentes?
 Cuando de estas metáforas te vales,
 No las retires de su oficio tanto,
 Que aun al afecto salgan desleales;
 Mas si eres lapidario, no me espanto
 De que las gracias huyan esa parte,
 Que es pedrería, y no amoroso canto.
 Ni sutilices mucho con el arte
 Las congojas que amor finezas llama,
 Si esperas en su gusto acreditarte.

Then the author, after arguing for a candid expression of love in poetry, makes it clear that it is only an extremist tendency which he is satirizing:

Y aunque asevero mi opinión, protesto
 Que ni a la docta escuela petrarquista
 Ni a su autor venerable arguyo en esto.⁹

And Quevedo also unites with Cervantes and Argensola in satirizing the affected description of the beauties of ladies in *Procura enmendar el abuso de las alabanzas de los poetas*. As one would naturally be led to expect, his attack is more caustic than that of his two contemporaries. Since the *Cullistas* had already largely replaced the Petrarchists at this time, his shafts were destined as much for them.

¡Qué preciosos son los dientes
 Y qué cuitadas las muelas
 Que nunca en ellas gastaron
 Los amantes una perla!
 No empobrecieron mas presto
 Si labraran los poetas,
 De algún nácar las narices,
 De algún máfil las orejas.
 ¿En que pecaron los codos
 Que ninguno los requiebra?
 De sienes y de quijadas,
 Nadie que escribe se acuerda.
 Las lágrimas son aljófar
 Aunque una roma las vierte,
 De gargajos a las flemas.
 Para las lagañas solas
 Hay en las coplas pobreza,
 Pues siempre se son lagañas
 Aunque Lucinda las tenga.

⁹ *Composiciones Varias* in *Bibl. de Aut. Esp.*, XLII, 1923, p. 349.

Todo cabello es de oro
 En apodos, y no en tiendas,
 Y en descuidándose Júdas,
 Se entran a sol las bermejas.
 Eran las mujeres antes
 De carne y de hueso hechas,
 Ya son de rosas y flores,
 Jardines y primaveras.¹⁰

In *El Buscón, Alegórica enfermedad y medicina de un Amante*,¹¹ and in *Los Sueños*,¹² he continues in the same tenor; adding in the first an attack against the plagiarists.

Luis Carrillo in his *Obras*, published posthumously in Madrid, 1613, was the first seventeenth century writer to make a defence of Castilian meters in a *Romance*, *Coronaban bellas rosas*, praising Pedro de Lerma. This was also one of the first open statements to be made in favor of the old poetry in more than a half a century.

Más estima el reino mío (i.e. Spain)
 Dos endechas, dos palabras
 Hechas tiernamente y dichas,
 Que tus estudios y galas.

Más de un amante quejoso,
 En su musa castellana
 Cuatro agudezas desnudas,
 Que diez grandezas toscanas. . . .

¡Cómo siente un Castillejo!
 No ves que tierna desata
 Su española voz sus quejas
 Vertidas de sola el alma?

Blandamente dice un Lerma
 ¡Qué bien llora! ¡Qué bien habla!
 (Milagros de Amor) aún viven
 En sus escritos sus brasas.¹³

¹⁰ *Bibl. de Aut. Esp. (Obras de Francisco de Quevedo, III El Parnaso Español)*, LXIX, p. 183. The fantastic method of description referred to above continued uninterruptedly in literature until the dawn of Romanticism. In Spain, during the latter part of the seventeenth century, several satires attest to its vogue. See Salvador Jacinto Polo de Medina, "Fábula Burlesca de Apolo Y Daphne," *Composiciones Varias* in *Bibl. de Aut. Esp.*, XLII, pp. 207-10; and the same author in a poem in Durán's *Romancero*, II, 1661-2, beginning:

Con suspiros de cristal
 Y de plata mil sollozos
 De poetas desalmados
 Se está quejando un arroyo.

Antonio Solís y Rivadeneyra in a "Silva Burlesca, Hermafrodito y Salmacia," *op. cit.*, pp. 440-442, has a satire similar to Polo de Medina's. The world probably owes to Victor Hugo's vigorous attack in *Les Contemplations* the extinction of this literary disease.

¹¹ Castro's edition, loc. cit., p. 121.

¹² Cejador's edition, Madrid, 1916, p. 150.

¹³ See Gallardo, *Ensayo*, III, p. 390, col. 1.

Later, when Italians and Spaniards had completely forgotten Petrarch and Boscán, Gracián curiously resurrects them in *El Criticón*¹⁴ in two sharp, injudicious criticisms, the innocent Dante being also included as one of the victims.

In the same year (1651) López de Zárate published his *Obras Varias* at Alcalá, on page twenty-nine of which is a sonnet entitled *A Imitación del Petrarca en Todo*. The caption, especially the words *en Todo*, and the epoch in which it was written suggest that this is a parody of Petrarch's manner, at its worst.

Vierte sus aguas la Africana fuente
Sobre los campos fértiles de Egipto,
Y cuando es el calor casi infinito
No admite freno en monte, yugo en fuente,
Multiplican mis ojos yelo ardiente,
Contra el humano y el celeste rito.
Pues quando más se enciende este distrito
Sus márgenes inunda la corriente
Hiriendo el sol las encumbradas sierras,
Haze rindan al Nilo su tributo
Con que buelve frutíferas las tierras.
En mí causa mí sol el mismo efeto,
No siéndome las lágrimas de fruto,
Que me yelan, y abrazan en secreto.

And more than a century afterwards anti-Petrarchism in Spain found its last belated posthumous expression when Forner in his *Exequias de la Lengua Castellana* vigorously attacked the long dead sixteenth century Italians. After stating that they, among the other bad poets transformed into croaking frogs in a pool on the way to Parnassus, surpass all their comrades in preciousness, he makes a malicious allusion to Navagero.

"Italiano hay aquí transformado en anfibio, que pensaba de sí y se lo decía a Apolo con mucha seriedad, haber sido maestro de nuestra nación por haberla enseñado que un soneto consta de catorce versos, y no paró aquí sino que se esforzó en probar que sin esta noticia no era posible que hubiera dado de sí España grandes teólogos, médicos y juristas."

Some pages further in the same treatise he carries his anti-Italianism so far as absurdly to deny, by implication, any Italian influence in the poetry of the sixteenth century. "Boscán, Garcilaso, Mendoza apartándose de la simplicidad de las coplas castellanas, y valiéndose diestramente de los tesoros de la poesía latina y griega, formaron el estilo poético."¹⁵

The early anti-Petrarchists apparently did not lack in voices, but wanted leaders and organization in order to combat the new school successfully. They did succeed, however, in scoring a partial victory in preserving the old Spanish meters beside the Italian innovations. Theirs was a sincere protest in the name of incompatibility and nationalism. After the first quarter of a century, the opponents became impotent to stem what had become a literary epidemic. The emphasis now shifted almost entirely to certain perverted manifestations of the Petrarchistic spirit in Spain, such as plagiarism from the Italians, the display of sham sentimentality, the use of inane and hackneyed metaphors descriptive of the beauties of the Spanish Lauras. It should be noted, however, that these adulterations did not

¹⁴ *Obras*, Madrid, 1773, vol. I, pp. 181 and 222. See also Menéndez y Pelayo, *Antología de Poetas Líricos*, vol. XIII, p. 408.

¹⁵ *Bibl. de Aut. Esp.*, LXIII, pp. 386 and 393.

prevent critics from either imitating or admiring the saner and more genuine Petrarchistic tendency. The latest attacks savor too much of pertness and ignorance to be given any serious consideration.

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UNPUBLISHED LETTERS OF ALEXIS DE TOCQUEVILLE

IN a recent article in *THE ROMANIC REVIEW* (XIX, 1928, pp. 195-217), I published eight letters written by Alexis de Tocqueville, four to Jared Sparks and four to Charles Sumner. Since the appearance of that article, I have discovered five more letters penned by Tocqueville, four to Americans (the Reverend Mr. Barrett, Charles Sumner, and John Canfield Spencer), and one to a Britisher (Carteret John William Ellis). These letters, all hitherto unpublished, follow.

GUSTAVE DE BEAUMONT AND TOCQUEVILLE TO THE REV. MR. BARRETT¹

Rev. Mr. Barrett,²

Boston, 12 7^{hrs} 1831.

Sir, When we have had the pleasure to see you at New-York, we hoped that in few days we should be able to go to Wethersfield. Some circumstances have changed our projects and obliged us to postpone that travel. Since that time we have past a long while in the state of New-York,³ where the prisons of Singing and Auburn have particularly called our attention. We are just now arrived in Boston, where we intend to pass about ten or fifteen days.⁴ From this place we shall go to Wethersfield, where we hope that we shall have the honour to meet with you. We give you the advice of our arrival in Boston, because if by chance you came in this town during the time of our residence in it, we should be very happy to see you. We hope that you would be as kind as to let us know in what hotel we could find you. We pray you to receive the expression of our most respectful feelings.

G. de Beaumont
A. de Tocqueville.⁵

Boston, Malboro-hotel,⁶ Washington St.

¹ This brief note is the earliest missive from Tocqueville to an American that has yet been published.

² The Reverend Mr. Barrett, a Presbyterian clergyman, was in 1831 chaplain of the State Prison at Wethersfield, Connecticut. Concerning him and the Reverend Mr. Smith, chaplain at Auburn Prison, Beaumont and Tocqueville say in their *Du Système pénitentiaire aux États-Unis* (3d ed., Paris, 1845, p. 146): "Il serait difficile de peindre le zèle dont sont animés dans l'exercice de leurs pieuses fonctions MM. Barrett et Smith, qui peut-être se font parfois des illusions sur les résultats de leurs efforts, mais sont bien sûrs au moins de s'attirer la vénération de tous ceux qui les connaissent."

³ Before going to Boston, Tocqueville and Beaumont spent about two and one-half months in New York City and New York State.

⁴ As a matter of fact, they spent more than three weeks in Boston. They arrived on September 9, 1831 (*Œuvres complètes d'A. de T.*, Paris, 1864-1868, VII, 58), and departed for Hartford, Conn., on October 2, 3 or 4 (*ibid.*, VIII, 280 and 283).

⁵ Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Simon Gratz Collection, *French Authors* (arranged alphabetically). 4 pp., last three pages blank. 4to. The text of the letter and Beaumont's signature are in Beaumont's handwriting. Tocqueville's signature is autograph.

⁶ That is, Marlboro Hotel, then situated at 229 Washington Street (between Winter and Bromfield Streets).

TOCQUEVILLE TO CHARLES SUMNER

Charles Sumner's first sojourn in Paris lasted from December 31, 1837, to May 29, 1838.⁷ On March 9, 1838, Sumner wrote to Francis Lieber: "Tocqueville has been absent from the city till last week. I shall call on him to-day."⁸ On the same date he recorded in his diary: "Tried to find Tocqueville, but he has left the city."⁹

Up to the present, it has never been known exactly when Tocqueville and Sumner met for the first time.¹⁰ The following note seems to settle that point definitely. If we bear in mind that Sumner's main purpose in staying in Paris was to meet the leading public men of that city, we are safe in assuming that he did not decline Tocqueville's invitation for May 20, 1838.

C'est avec beaucoup de regrets, Monsieur, que je viens de trouver votre carte. J'aurais bien mieux aimé voir votre personne. Je pense qu'il serait inutile de vous aller chercher, car à la veille d'un départ¹¹ vous devez sortir souvent de chez vous. Je ne vois qu'un moyen certain de vous rencontrer, c'est de venir déjeuner après demain dimanche chez moi. Madame de Tocqueville et moi serons très charmés de faire connaissance avec vous. Notre heure habituelle est 11 h.

Agréez, je vous prie, Monsieur, l'assurance de ma considération la plus distinguée.
Alexis de Tocqueville.¹²

Ce vendredi à 5 heures.

[Address:]

Monsieur Sumner
5 place des Italiens
Paris.

TOCQUEVILLE TO JOHN CANFIELD SPENCER

Among the friends made by Tocqueville during his travels in the United States was John Canfield Spencer, jurist and politician, and editor of the American edition of Henry Reeve's translation of *La Démocratie en Amérique* (1838, 2 vols.).¹³ Tocqueville, in a letter to his sister-in-law dated at Batavia, N. Y., July 25, 1831, speaks as follows of his visit to Spencer's country house at Canandaigua:

"Après nous être plongés dans le système pénitentiaire [at Auburn Prison], nous sommes allés à Canandagua, dans la maison de campagne d'un membre de la législature, nommé M. Spencer. Je vous avoue, chère sœur, que nous avons passé là la semaine la plus agréable. Canandagua est situé sur le bord d'un lac;—encore un lac, allez-vous dire;—celui-là n'avait rien de sauvage, tout ce qui l'entoure, au contraire, rappelle l'idée des agréments de la vie civilisée. Notre hôte est un homme plein d'esprit avec lequel nous passions les matinées les plus intéressantes; et indépendamment d'une très belle bibliothèque, il avait encore deux charmantes filles, avec lesquelles nous cordions très bien, comme disent en France les gens du peuple. Quoi qu'elles ne sussent pas le plus petit mot de français, elles avaient, entre autres charmes, quatre yeux bleus (non pas la même, mais deux chacune), comme je suis bien sûr que vous n'en avez jamais vus de l'autre côté de l'eau. Je vous en ferais la descrip-

⁷ Edward L. Pierce, *Memoir and Letters of Charles Sumner*, Boston, 1877-1893, I, 224 and 297.

⁸ *Ibid.*, I, 264.

⁹ *Ibid.*, I, 264.

¹⁰ Edward L. Pierce conjectured 1838 or 1839 (*ibid.*, II, 83, note 1).

¹¹ Sumner left Paris for England on May 29, 1838 (*ibid.*, I, 297).

¹² Autograph, Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Dreer Collection, *French Prose Writers* (arranged alphabetically). 4 pp.; pp. 2 and 3 blank, address on p. 4. 8vo. The postmark on p. 4 is 19 mai 1838.

¹³ Spencer was born at Hudson, N. Y., in 1788, and died at Albany in 1855.

tion si je ne craignais de tomber dans la fadeur. Qu'il vous suffise de savoir que nous les regardions encore plus volontiers que les livres du père. Nous étant fait, Beaumont et moi, part de la découverte, nous résolûmes, avec toute la sagesse qui nous caractérise, de nous remettre en route au plus tôt; résolution que nous exécutâmes le lendemain matin en traversant le lac, non pas à la nage, comme auraient pu le faire Mentor et Télémaque, mais en bateau à vapeur, ce qui est plus sûr et plus commode. Nous voilà aujourd'hui à Batavia, tout choses de n'être plus à Cananagua, et, en somme, contents d'en être partis."¹⁴

The value of the following letter is considerably enhanced by the fact that it is the only piece of English as yet published which was written by Tocqueville alone.¹⁵

Au château de Tocqueville, par St. Pierre-Église,
département de la Manche, ce 12 Sept. 1839.

My dear Sir,

I have many apologies to make for having so long delayed answering the letter I received from you seven months ago. I hope however you will accept my excuses when I have made them known to you.

In the month of March last, precisely at the moment I was putting the last strokes to my work on America,¹⁶ I was elected Deputy. Immediately after my entrance in the Chamber, I took part in several important affairs which demanded the sacrifice of all my time.¹⁷ I was obliged in consequence and greatly to my regret to abandon for some time my philosophical and literary pursuits. It was not till lately that I was able to return to them. My intention is to push them with the greatest activity until the next session, at which epoch I hope they will be terminated. Our session will begin, I think, in December. Such are the circumstances which have prevented me in the first place from thanking you for the interest you have shown in my affairs and, in the second, for the precious documents you have sent me. My gratitude is not less lively for having been so tardily expressed.

¹⁴ *Œuvres complètes d'A. de T.*, VII, 44-45. Elsewhere Tocqueville records a "Conversation avec M. John Spencer, légiste très distingué, qui a été successivement avocat, district-attorney (procureur du roi), membre du Congrès, et présentement membre de la législature de l'État de New-York. Il a été l'un des rédacteurs des *Revised Statutes* de cet État" (*ibid.*, VIII, 236-242). This conversation, which is in two parts, bears the dates July 14 and 16, 1831.

¹⁵ The note to the Reverend Mr. Barrett, above, was probably the result of the collaboration of Tocqueville and Gustave de Beaumont.

¹⁶ On November 15, 1839, Tocqueville wrote to John Stuart Mill: "Je suis arrivé, il y a deux jours, à Paris, pour faire imprimer l'ouvrage auquel je travaille depuis quatre ans et qui est la suite de l'autre [i.e., of Part I of *La Démocratie en Amérique*, 1835]. C'est l'*Influence de l'égalité sur les idées et les sentiments des hommes*. Je vous en enverrai un exemplaire dès qu'il aura paru, c'est-à-dire vers le mois de février prochain" (*ibid.*, VI, 93).

On the same date, Tocqueville wrote to Henry Reeve: "Je suis arrivé hier à Paris avec mon manuscrit complet. Mon livre est enfin terminé, terminé définitivement, *alleluia!* Je pense que je commencerai l'impression dans la première semaine du mois prochain. Faites-moi donc savoir sans retard si vous êtes en état ou disposé à entreprendre la traduction immédiatement" (*ibid.*, VII, 177).

¹⁷ Immediately after his election as *député*, Tocqueville was especially concerned with the abolition of slavery in the French colonies. Cf. the following report: *Rapport fait à la Chambre des Députés, au nom de la commission chargée d'examiner la proposition de M. de Tracy relative aux esclaves des colonies* (23 juillet 1839) (*ibid.*, IX, 227-264).

With regard to the principal affair upon which you were good enough to write to me, this is exactly as the matter stands: M. Benjamin, whom you mentioned to me in your letter dated of the 14th of November, having retired from business, it seems that M. Adlard¹⁸ has undertaken to do what the former intended. In consequence, it was he who transmitted to me your letter 19th last December, to which he added the following proposition:

he offers me a third of the clear profits of my new work on condition that I should send him the proof sheets at the same time that they appear here and that I should delay the publication in France the time necessary for allowing the book to appear simultaneously in New-York and in Paris.

I have no hesitation in acceding to these conditions, if instead of remitting to me the third of the clear profits he would give me immediately a sum of money which may be considered an equivalent. You will easily conceive that it would be extremely difficult for me to establish a running account with a librarian in America. That would demand more time and attention than it would be in my power to bestow. I should prefer then to receive a little less but in ready money. It is probable the first proof sheets would be sent about January 1840.

I have already made known my wish on these points to M. Adlard through one of his friends and partners who is now in France, M.—,¹⁹ but I own, Sir, it is on you chiefly that I have founded my hopes of terminating this little affair to my satisfaction. Be then good enough, I beg of you, to enter into a negotiation in my name with M. Adlard and to inform me on what terms you think it advisable for me to treat with him.²⁰ I have the most perfect confidence in your judgment.

If an engagement was entered into, I hope you would not refuse to do me the honour of joining a preface and notes to this new work. I should be most happy if you would consent to do both.²¹

The same cause which prevented me from writing to you earlier has also prevented me from making the changes which I had intended to in my first book.²² I have not yet been able to occupy myself with the seventh edition, though the sixth is nearly out.

I hope, my dear Sir, the high functions to which I know you have been called²³ and my parliamentary duties will not interrupt our occasional correspondence, to which, for my part, I attach a high value; for I have never ceased to remember you as one of the most distinguished men I met with in your country.

I am, Sir, with the highest consideration,

Your sincere friend

Alexis de Tocqueville.

P.S.

I send you by the same courier a copy of my first speech in the Chamber of Deputies on the eastern question and of which I beg your acceptance.²⁴

¹⁸ George Adlard, a publisher of New York City. In 1838 and 1839 Adlard published editions of Reeve's translation of Part I of *La Démocratie en Amérique*.

¹⁹ This name is illegible.

²⁰ Reeve's translation of Tocqueville's new work was published, not by Adlard, but by J. and H. G. Langley: *Democracy in America. Part the Second. The Social Influence of Democracy. With an Original Preface by John C. Spencer*, New York, 1840 and 1841.

²¹ Spencer wrote a preface of eight pages, but no notes.

²² That is, in Part I of *La Démocratie en Amérique*.

²³ From 1839 to 1841 Spencer served as Secretary of State and Superintendent of Schools of the State of New York.

²⁴ Autograph, Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Simon Gratz Collection, *French Authors*. 4 pp. 4to. Some one has written on the manuscript: "Letter addressed to Hon. John C. Spencer."

TOCQUEVILLE TO CHARLES SUMNER

Tocqueville, ce 28^{bre} 1839.

Votre lettre, Monsieur, ayant été adressée à Paris ne m'est parvenue que tardivement; c'est ce qui doit vous expliquer le retard de ma réponse. Veuillez m'excuser, je vous prie.

Vous avez bien raison, Monsieur, de croire qu'il n'est pas nécessaire de me faire connaître les titres de M. Story²⁶ à devenir correspondant de l'Institut. J'ai trop étudié ses ouvrages pour n'avoir pas conçu la plus haute idée de l'auteur. J'ai de plus été aux États-Unis et j'ai pu voir combien son caractère aussi bien que son talent étaient estimés de ses compatriotes. Je crois, donc, quant à moi, que l'Institut s'honorera en faisant un pareil choix. J'espère avoir l'occasion d'exprimer cette opinion au sein de l'Académie des Sciences morales et politiques.²⁶ Je ne sais, du reste, quand il y aura une élection, étant absent de Paris depuis la fin de la session dernière de nos chambres et ne devant y revenir qu'à l'époque où elles seront rappelées. J'aurai l'honneur de vous mettre au courant des suites de cette affaire, dès que j'en serai instruit.²⁷

Je ne veux point finir cette courte lettre, Monsieur, sans vous exprimer le plaisir que j'aurai à vous revoir, lorsque vous repasserez par Paris.²⁸ Le peu de rapport que

²⁶ Joseph Story was born at Marblehead, Mass., in 1779, and died at Cambridge, Mass., in 1845. In 1811, when only thirty-two years old, he became an Associate Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States. From 1829 until his death he was professor of law at Harvard University. He was the author of a number of works on legal subjects.

While in Paris in May, 1838, Charles Sumner looked after Story's interests to the best of his ability. Edward L. Pierce says: "During Sumner's last few weeks in Paris, he endeavored to promote the election of Judge Story as a member of the French Institute, and for that purpose prepared in French a memoir of the judge's career and writings which he delivered to Mr. Warden, already a member" (*op. cit.*, I, 297). David Baillie Warden was at this time Consul General of the United States at Paris.

²⁶ Tocqueville was elected to the Académie des Sciences morales et politiques in 1838.

²⁷ Judge Story was never elected a corresponding member of the Institut de France. Tocqueville's enthusiasm for the candidacy of the American jurist may have cooled if such comments as the following reached his ears. To Francis Lieber, Story wrote on May 9, 1840: "The work of De Tocqueville has had great reputation abroad, partly founded on their ignorance that he has borrowed the greater part of his reflections from American works, and little from his own observations. The main body of his materials will be found in the *Federalist* and in [Joseph] Story's *Commentaries on the Constitution*. You know ten times as much as he does of the actual workings of our system and of its true theory" (William W. Story, *Life and Letters of Joseph Story*, Boston, 1851, II, 330). William W. Story reproaches Tocqueville for not acknowledging his indebtedness to Joseph Story's *Commentaries on the Constitution of the United States* (*ibid.*, II, p. 329).

Compare the following French translation of the abridged edition of Judge Story's work: *Commentaire sur la Constitution Fédérale des États-Unis . . . ; traduit du Commentaire abrégé et augmenté des observations de Jefferson, Rawle, De Tocqueville, etc., . . . par Paul Odent*, Paris, 1843, 2 vols., 8vo. The abridged edition of Story's *Commentaries* was published at Boston in 1833.

²⁸ On October 28, 1839, Sumner was in Vienna (Pierce, *op. cit.*, II, 120).

nous avons eu ensemble m'a donné un sincère désir de les rendre plus fréquents [sic]. J'espère donc que vous viendrez me voir à votre retour parmi nous. Je demeure maintenant rue Castellane no. 7.

Adieu, Monsieur. Veuillez agréer l'expression de ma considération la plus distinguée.

Alexis de Tocqueville.²⁹

TOCQUEVILLE TO CARTERET J. W. ELLIS

This letter is the only evidence we have of relations between Tocqueville and Ellis. Information concerning the latter is almost wholly lacking. *The Catalogue of Printed Books* of the British Museum mentions the fact that Carteret John William Ellis was the author of *A Lecture on National Education*, London, 1853, 16 pages.

Mon cher Monsieur,

J'apprends avec un vif regret que vous avez renoncé à venir cette année dans notre pays. Je suis surtout affligé que la raison qui vous a fait remettre ce voyage soit si triste. Je n'ai pas besoin de vous dire combien j'aurais été charmé de vous revoir chez moi d'abord et ensuite de vous montrer Cherbourg. Ce dernier lieu mérite assurément d'être vu, surtout par un voyageur comme vous. Ce qui est achevé est déjà très grand; ce qui est en voie d'achèvement sera beaucoup plus grand encore. Jamais l'homme n'a lutté si hardiment contre les difficultés que lui opposait la nature, et n'est mieux parvenu à les vaincre.³⁰

Votre lettre me laisse l'espérance de vous voir ici l'an prochain. Je désire vivement que cet espoir se réalise. Mais je n'attendrai pas cette époque pour chercher à vous rencontrer. Dans trois semaines au plus je serai de retour à Paris et j'éprouverai une véritable joie à renouveler avec vous ma connaissance qui m'a laissé de très agréables souvenirs.

Agréez, je vous prie, mon cher Monsieur, l'expression de ma considération la plus distinguée.

Alexis de Tocqueville.³¹

Tocqueville, ce 6 X^{bre} 1843.

[Address:]

à Monsieur

Monsieur Carteret J. W. Ellis

97 rue de Lille

Paris.

RICHMOND LAURIN HAWKINS

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THE SOURCE OF BAUDELAIRE'S PROSE-POEM, *L'HORLOGE*

FEW direct sources of Baudelaire's poems have been discovered. Yet such sources are illuminating for the understanding of his art, not so much because they prove that he borrowed motives here and there from accidental predecessors, but because they show in which way he transformed certain texts he read, or paintings he saw, or facts he observed, into symbols of his internal life. This process of trans-

²⁹ Autograph, Harvard University Library, Sumner 26, III, no. 84. 4 pp., last two pages blank. 8vo.

³⁰ In 1843 extensive works were nearing completion at Cherbourg: an arsenal was being built; also fortifications, piers, a floating dock, and especially a mole 3600 meters in length. See Tocqueville's *Notice sur Cherbourg*, in *Œuvres complètes d'A. de T.*, IX, 134-195. In this *Notice* (1846) Tocqueville says: "Quatre-vingts ans de travaux et plus de deux cents millions de dépenses, voilà le Cherbourg de nos jours."

³¹ Autograph, Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Simon Gratz Collection, *French Authors*. 4 pp., last two pages blank. 8vo.

position from the real to the psychological can be observed, for instance, in *Un Voyage à Cythère*. The starting point of the poem was a short description of Gérard de Nerval, who narrated how, sailing past the island of Cérigo, once devoted to the cult of Venus, he believed he perceived in the distance the statue of some antique divinity still standing on a rock. However, when the ship drew nearer, he saw that it was a gallows from which dangled a dead man. In his poem, Baudelaire transforms the island into Cythrea, the island of love, now a desert of ruins, destroyed as a punishment for its ancient sacrilegious mysteries. And the lands of love in which he once dwelt have also withered as if smitten by a mysterious curse. . . . He, too, is punished and the dead man rotting on the gallows becomes a symbol of his own suffering:

"Dans ton île, ô Vénus, je n'ai trouvé debout
Qu'un gibet symbolique où pendait mon image . . ."

The same transmutation of source-material, from a mere observation into symbolic significance, is illustrated in the inspiration of his prose-poem, *L'Horloge*.¹ In order to compare it with its source, I am restoring it here to its earliest known form by eliminating the later changes and additions:

L'Horloge

"Les Chinois voient l'heure dans l'œil des chats; moi aussi.

"Un jour un missionnaire qui se promenait dans la banlieue de Nankin, s'aperçut qu'il avait oublié sa montre, et demanda à un petit garçon quelle heure il était.

"Le gamin du céleste Empire hésita d'abord; puis, se ravissant, il répondit: 'Je vais vous le dire.' Peu d'instants après, il reparut, tenant dans ses bras un fort gros chat, et le regardant, comme on dit, dans le blanc des yeux, il affirma sans hésiter: 'Il n'est pas-encore tout à fait midi.' Ce qui était vrai."

"Pour moi, quand je prends dans mes bras mon bon chat, mon cher chat, qui est à la fois l'honneur de sa race, l'orgueil de mon cœur et le parfum de mon esprit, que ce soit la nuit, que ce soit le jour, dans la pleine lumière ou dans l'ombre parfaite, au fond de ses yeux adorables je vois toujours l'heure distinctement, toujours la même, une heure vaste, solennelle, grande comme l'espace, sans division de minutes ni de secondes,—une heure immobile qui n'est pas marquée sur les horloges, et cependant légère comme un soupir, rapide comme un coup d'œil.

"Et si quelque importun venait me déranger pendant que mon regard repose sur cet aimable cadran, si quelque Génie malhonnête et intolérant venait me dire: 'Que regardes-tu là avec tant de soin? Que cherches-tu dans les yeux de cet être? Y vois-tu l'heure, imbécile?' Je répondrais sans hésiter: 'Oui, je vois l'heure; il est l'Éternité!'"

Baudelaire did not invent this missionary who, after the fashion of the Chinese, learned to read the time of day in the eyes of a cat. In 1854, three years before the publication of his poem, there appeared a work by the well-known missionary and explorer, Father Evariste Régis Huc (1813-1860), *L'Empire Chinois. Faisant suite*

¹ *Poèmes en prose*, ed. Crépet, p. 49. This poem must have been composed between 1854 and 1857. It appeared for the first time in *Le Présent*, August 24, 1857, and was republished in the *Revue Fantaisiste*, November 1, 1861. These two early versions are different from the form in which it was reprinted for the third time in *La Presse*, September 24, 1862. The revised version has appeared in the editions of Baudelaire since 1869.

² "En supposant une mémoire parfaite ou du moins très-exercée, il n'est pas difficile de comprendre comment on peut deviner l'heure dans l'œil d'un animal dont la pupille est très-sensible à la lumière."

à l'ouvrage intitulé "*Souvenirs d'un Voyage dans la Tartarie et le Thibet.*" In Vol. II, pp. 329-30, Father Huc narrates the following anecdote:

"Un jour que nous allions visiter quelques familles chrétiennes de cultivateurs, nous rencontrâmes, tout près d'une ferme, un jeune Chinois qui faisait paître un buffle, le long d'un sentier. Nous lui demandâmes, en passant et par désœuvrement, s'il n'était pas encore midi. L'enfant leva la tête, et, comme le soleil était caché derrière d'épais nuages, il ne put y lire sa réponse.—Le ciel n'est pas clair, nous dit-il, mais attendez un instant. . . . A ces mots il s'élance vers la ferme et revient quelques minutes après, portant un chat sous le bras.—Il n'est pas encore midi, dit-il, tenez, voyez. . . . En disant cela, il nous montrait l'œil du chat dont il écartait les paupières avec ses deux mains. Nous regardâmes d'abord l'enfant, il était d'un sérieux admirable; puis le chat qui, quoique étonné, et peu satisfait de l'expérience qu'on faisait sur son œil, était néanmoins d'une complaisance exemplaire.—C'est bien, dîmes-nous à l'enfant; il n'est pas encore midi, merci. Le jeune Chinois lâcha le chat, qui se sauva au grand galop, et nous continuâmes notre route. Pour dire vrai, nous n'avions pas compris grand'chose à cette nouvelle méthode de connaître les heures; mais nous ne voulûmes pas questionner ce petit païen, de peur que, à notre ignorance, il ne s'avisât de soupçonner que nous étions Européens. Aussitôt que nous fûmes arrivés dans une maison de Chrétiens, nous n'eûmes rien de plus pressé que de leur demander s'ils savaient voir l'heure qu'il était dans les yeux des chats. Ils ne s'attendaient guère à une semblable question. Aussi furent-ils un peu déconcertés; nous insistâmes, et, comme il n'y avait aucun danger à craindre, en leur avouant notre profonde ignorance sur les propriétés de l'œil du chat, nous leur racontâmes ce qui nous était arrivé, en route, tout près de la ferme d'un païen. Il n'en fallut pas davantage; nos complaisants néophytes se mirent aussitôt à donner la chasse à tous les chats du voisinage. Ils nous en apportèrent trois ou quatre, et nous expliquèrent de quelle manière on pouvait se servir avantageusement d'un chat en guise de montre. Ils nous firent voir que la prunelle de son œil allait se rétrécissant à mesure qu'on avançait vers midi; qu'à midi juste elle était comme un cheveu, comme une ligne d'une finesse extrême, tracée perpendiculairement sur l'œil; après midi la dilatation recommençait. Quand nous eûmes examiné bien attentivement tous les chats qui étaient à notre disposition, nous conclûmes qu'il était midi passé; tous les yeux étaient parfaitement d'accord.

"Nous avons d'abord hésité à parler de cette invention chinoise, dans la crainte de compromettre l'horlogerie et d'arrêter le débit des montres; mais toute considération doit s'effacer devant l'amour du progrès. Il est difficile qu'une découverte de quelque importance ne froisse pas les intérêts privés. Nous espérons cependant qu'on pourra malgré cela, faire encore des montres, parce que, parmi les nombreuses personnes qui désirent savoir l'heure, il y en aura toujours plusieurs qui ne voudront pas se donner la peine de courir après un chat, pour lui regarder les yeux, et s'exposer ainsi au danger de se faire arracher les leurs."

It is evident from the striking similarity between the first part of Baudelaire's poem and Huc's anecdote that he was the missionary whose quaint adventure became the nucleus of *L'Horloge*. But Baudelaire perceived, although in a far more sensuous and poetic way than others, certain analogies of temperament between cats and women. In *Le Chat* he writes:

"Lorsque mes doigts caressent à loisir
Ta tête et ton dos élastique . . .
Je vois ma femme en esprit . . .
Son regard, comme le tien, aimable bête,
Profond et froid, coupe et fend comme un dard . . ."

This analogy explains the genesis of the second part of the poem, in which the opposition, Time and Eternity, predominates.

In the third edition of *L'Horloge*, in *La Presse* of September 24, 1862, Baudelaire gave a name to the woman impersonating the cat. He called her "Féline,"

and Crépet³ remarks that she must have been a real person, since there exists a copy of the second edition of the *Fleurs du Mal* (1861) with the dedication: "Homage à ma très-chère Féline, Ch. Baudelaire." Who is this "Féline" for whom Baudelaire showed all this affection? She remains unidentified, but the dates given here seem to place her in the poet's life during the years 1861-1862. One should notice, however, that in 1862 Baudelaire added to *L'Horloge*, into which he had just introduced Féline's name, a very ironical paragraph manifestly aimed at her:

"N'est-ce pas, madame, que voici un madrigal vraiment méritoire, et aussi emphatique que vous-même? En vérité, j'ai eu tant de plaisir à broder cette prétentieuse galanterie, que je ne vous demanderai rien en échange."

The tone of this addition printed in 1862 contrasts sharply enough with the "très-chère Féline" of the dedication of 1861. It forces us to the conclusion that before September, 1862, Baudelaire's affection for "Féline" had been definitely waning.

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³ *Petits Poèmes en Prose*, p. 290.

REVIEWS

SOME STUDIES ON MARCEL PROUST

Les Cahiers Marcel Proust: (2) *Répertoire des personnages de "À la Recherche du Temps Perdu"*, par Charles Daudet, précédé de *La Vie Sociale dans l'Œuvre de Marcel Proust*, par Ramon Fernandez, 1927, xxiii-175 pp. (3) *Morceaux Choisis de Marcel Proust*, précédés d'une préface par Ramon Fernandez, 1928, 372 pp. (4) *Au Bal avec Marcel Proust*, par La Princesse Bibesco, 1928, 202 pp., Paris, Librairie Gallimard.

Le Comique et le Mystère chez Proust, par Léon Pierre-Quint, Paris, Kra, 1928, 115 pp.
Comment Travaillait Proust: Bibliographie, Variantes, Lettres de Proust, par Léon Pierre-Quint, Paris, Éditions des Cahiers Libres, 1928, 131 pp.

We are celebrating this year, or we should, the 10th anniversary of the advent of Marcel Proust to the world of literature. *Du Côté de chez Swann* was, it is true, first published in 1913 by Grasset. But the World War came and obliterated from the minds of all any thought of literature. It was not until 1919 that the second volume of *À la Recherche du temps Perdu* appeared, in the edition of the *Nouvelle Revue Française*. This time *À l'Ombre des Jeunes filles en fleurs* won a signal triumph. It was consecrated by the Goncourt Academy,—not without a struggle, however, for it won its award against no less a book than Roland Dorgelès' *Les Croix de bois*. One of the accredited critics of the press wrote: "Cette fois l'Académie Goncourt a donné son prix à un auteur vraiment inconnu. Il n'est pas jeune, mais inconnu; il l'est et il le restera." Even his life-long friend, Robert de Montesquiou, was bitter, remarking in his *Mémoires* that "*l'Ombre des jeunes filles en fleurs* l'emportait sur l'ombre des héros en sang." But Time, that hero who is also the villain of Proust's novel, has already proved that for once, at least, the Goncourt Academy had made an immortal award.

Proust himself had no misgivings regarding the value of his work. After wasting his hopes and his strength in quest of an elusive publisher, he finally wrote René Blum to ask Grasset to publish it at his own cost, adding that "l'ouvrage . . . lui fera un jour honneur." André Gide had at first rejected it for the *Nouvelle Revue Française*, because, as he sorrowfully confessed to Proust later: "Je vous croyais, vous l'avouerez-je? 'du côté de chez Verdurin'; un snob, un mondain amateur." But no man was less snobbish, in the vulgar sense of the term, than the creator of Baron de Charlus and of Oriane de Guermantes. Even if we did not have the testimony of the men of letters who knew him intimately, no man who reads him with any degree of appreciation for the sense of the tragic that permeates his work can harbor such a silly notion. Proust turned to good account every moment he spent in the fashionable drawing-rooms of the Faubourg Saint-Germain. It was all, as he confessed to Princess Bibesco, "de la documentation," unconscious at first, to be sure, and for that reason, more significant. He sought as eagerly in one class of society the models for his Françoise, his Albertine, his Bloch, who are not aristocrats, as in another class the models for his Mme de Villeparisis, his Robert de Saint-Loup, his Prince de Guermantes, who are. This is

what he called "la psychologie de mon snobisme." As he says in his *Chroniques*: "il peut être aussi curieux pour l'artiste de montrer les façons d'une reine, que les habitudes d'une couturière," and no one will claim that the portrait of Françoise is less sympathetic, or less finished than that of Oriane de Guermantes. His correspondence shows him constantly seeking to escape the shackles of any friendship that became too exacting of his time. "Vous avez dépassé infiniment le Temps maximum que j'octroie à mes amitiés," he writes to Antoine Bibesco. "Brouillons-nous vite," a passage reminiscent of the melancholy words he writes on friendship in *À l'Ombre des Jeunes filles en fleurs*. Even in his years of mundane living we see the creative impulse slowly digging itself into his vitals. He writes to the same correspondent:

'Du moment que depuis cette longue torpeur, j'ai pour la première fois tourné mon regard à l'intérieur, vers ma pensée, je sens tout le néant de ma vie, cent personnages de roman, mille idées me demandant de leur donner un corps.'

These hundreds of characters, thousands of ideas came to him from his inner vision of life, and not merely from his observation of external reality. His continuous novel is not a "roman à clef," but, as he himself explains in *Le Temps retrouvé*, scores of living models posed unknowingly for the make-up of any one of his characters. So though coming primarily from his own imagination, his Charles Swann has something in him of a Charles Ephrussi, an Edmond de Polignac, and especially a Charles Haas, the famous dandy of the nineties who is portrayed in Tissot's painting of the Cercle de la rue Royale, between "Gallifet, Edmond Polignac et Saint-Maurice," Proust himself thus revealing his identity with Swann in *La Prisonnière*, I. So also Odette de Crecy has something of Clos Mesnil and of Laure Heymann, the *Gladys Harvey* of Paul Bourget; Robert de Saint-Loup, "c'est en grande partie Bertrand de Fénélon," admits Proust, though Robert de Montesquiou liked to see himself in the character. Even the famous "petite phrase" of the sonata of Vinteuil was suggested by a phrase from a sonata for piano and violin of Saint-Saëns, with other suggestions from Wagner, Franck, and especially Faure, we are told. Indeed, the nature of Proust's genius precluded his copying from reality any character, however interesting. In other novels the characters though alive seem to be made for the plot within which they move. In Proust they move from one social center to another with a resultant crisscrossing of passions and prejudices. Mme Verdurin, leader at first of the small "noyau" in opposition to the Faubourg Saint-Germain, becomes later Princesse de Guermantes. They are shown thus in a constant process of change, in time and space, not only physically, but also spiritually, and often a servant is seen to be the equal or even the superior of a duchess.

Such an understanding of the nature of Proust's characters is necessary to the making of a repertoire of them. The aim that guided M. Charles Daudet in his *Répertoire*, says M. Ramon Fernandez, was to make "en même temps qu'un sommaire fidèle et méthodique de l'œuvre, une table des matières de tout ce qui se trouve dans ces pages, une sorte de machine idéologique qui, sans trahir le moins du monde ni Proust ni ses critiques, facilitât la tâche de ces derniers." It must be confessed that the actual result falls far short of this ideal. Instead of the "machine idéologique" promised, we get merely a kind of lifeless puppet show. Its use is, moreover, limited, because the references to volume and page in it are restricted to an edition which is not found in all hands. M. Daudet claims that every citation from

Du Côté de chez Swann and *À l'Ombre des Jeunes filles en fleurs* "renvoie aux éditions courantes, respectivement en deux ou trois volumes de ces ouvrages," but such does not seem to be the case. Though the edition of 1919 of the former is in two volumes, not a reference in the "répertoire" coincides with the actual page in them, and as for the edition of 1919 of the latter, it is in two volumes, and not in three, and is, therefore, different from the one M. Daudet uses. Also as a new edition of Proust in different type is being published by Gallimard, the value of the repertory will be further impaired. Even as it is, it abounds in numerous omissions. A casual look shows that Mme Robert de Saint-Loup, who appears first in *Du Côté de chez Swann*, I, is not mentioned under Gilberte; the narrator's visit to Mme Verdurin for the purpose of seeing Mme Putbus, his mother's opinion of his intended marriage with Albertine, the attitude of the Queen of Naples at the death of a sister, in *Sodome et Gomorrihe*, II, are not found under their respective headings. The same of Brichot's conversation with the narrator, and of Mme Verdurin's reaction at the death of Princess Sherbatoff in *La Prisonnière*, and of other references. In spite of its shortcomings, however, it ought to be of use as a first guide to the characters in Proust and as a ready reference to their actions and movements. It ought also to serve as a help to a future and more comprehensive repertory of all that is in Proust. For even more important than a repertory of names, a good many of which are of little significance, would be a dictionary of the ideas of Proust. Such, for the second time, was the purpose of M. Ramon Fernandez, as he admits it in his Avant-Propos to *Morceaux Choisis de Marcel Proust*. But he gave up the idea, he says, because "les thèmes, chez Proust, sont à ce point entrelacés, que les démêler les uns des autres eût entraîné la destruction du tissu même de l'œuvre." Instead he gives us a series of "morceaux choisis" each one of which is a harmonious whole. There are fifty-seven of these selections in all. They afford the reader not only a bird's-eye view of the entire novel, but also a cross-section of it. After reading these extracts he should not feel so shy of confronting the more arduous task of going through the fifteen volumes to unravel their fascinating but intricate psychological woof.

What M. Ramon Fernandez says cannot be done in a book of selections, M. Léon Pierre-Quint does in his critical essays. M. Pierre-Quint rightly stresses Proust's method of showing man on a relative scale of values. It is not time alone that passes in *À la Recherche du Temps perdu*, but feelings, impressions, actions, thoughts, and men are in a constant state of flux and escape. Nothing seems absolute enough to withstand the flight of time, save the unconscious memory of the narrator. That is why his novel reads like an autobiography. The reader feels as if he were in tête-à-tête with him, and as if often the author were speaking only to himself. Louis de Robert compares the work to "une immense lettre à la postérité." In it, speaking with a degree of intimacy that makes the *Confessions* of Rousseau seem rhetorical and indiscreet, Proust tracks every sensation back to the deepest recesses of his unconscious being, to where the intelligence cannot follow, which is the level at which life is most real, since on its surface the intelligence controls and subdues everything to its logical and utilitarian needs. The impressions of life that affect us consciously are few in proportion to those which sink into our inner organism and which are the real ones, because they are left untouched and unmodified by our mania for rationalizing everything. The voluntary memory can draw upon what recollections the intelligence stores up; but it is the involuntary we must turn to to draw from the well of impressions imbedded in our subconscious.

And it is at this level that Proust carries on his observations. Just as the intelligence becomes the storehouse of our surface impressions of life, so art becomes for him the repository of its deeper, almost mystic contacts.

In a letter to Princess Bibesco Proust speaks of going down "longuement et profondément en soi-même au cœur de son cœur, ou plutôt au cerveau de son cœur." This faculty of Proust is well brought out by M. Pierre-Quint in the sequel to his first work on Proust, *Le Comique et le Mystère chez Proust*. In his earlier work, *Marcel Proust, sa vie, son œuvre*, he had seen with a remarkable perspicacity that the conclusion of Proust's novel was inherent in its beginning, in its two themes of the unconsciousness and of the evolution of sensations, the former of which leads to art and the latter to death. And this is exactly Proust's conclusion in *Le Temps retrouvé*. He seeks to thwart the fatal death of our unconscious sensations by converting them into a spiritual certainty. "Or, ce moyen qui me paraissait le seul, qu'était-ce autre chose que faire une œuvre d'art?" he adds. So, as M. Pierre-Quint points out in his later work, Proust, though reaching to the confines of the unknown in life, differs from the real mystic in that unlike the latter his desire is to see and to analyse his vision in the depths of reality. The mystic is content to enter into communion with the divine which for him lies beyond this life and to accept the moment of grace in silence. Proust is constantly tortured by the desire to render apprehensible the inner aspects he sees of life and to spiritualize them by expressing them in his art. M. Pierre-Quint brings out also very judiciously that when Proust views men and things at their own superficial level, the effects derived are either comic or grotesque. But this may result also from his piercing vision of the reality of things, and the comic rises then almost to the level of the fantastic. Often what is comic becomes intertwined with what is tragic, as in the character of Charlus, a gigantic, Rabelaisian, or Cervantic caricature; or as in the last scene in *Le Temps retrouvé*, when all the characters of the novel are gathered in the drawing-room of the Prince de Guermantes as if for a last parade, like a Dance of Death.

This scene, as Proust himself indicates, was the last factor in determining him to abandon forever all social life and to devote himself to writing down what was fast ebbing away in the sea of time, or of his unconscious memory, because his physical life, and therefore his spiritual life, his art, were at the mercy of old age and death. Feeling the approach of death, this perpetual invalid holds her at bay for years while he feverishly extracts from his mortal being "la réalité supersensible de l'art," which cannot die. Proust's method of work was subject to the conditions of his health. In proportion as it grew worse his art grew in depth. As early as 1908 he complained: "je ne peux plus travailler, écrire une lettre me donne mal à la tête pendant plusieurs jours,"—and yet it was about this time that he began *Swann*. He speaks of his "journées moribondes," when sleep would not come even after sixty hours of waking, and this tense atmosphere is often reflected in the book. The style, tortuous, labyrinthine, breath-taking to the point of being exasperating, at times winds itself around the dark corridors of the subconscious until the intelligence itself becomes dizzy. These apparent meanderings, his constant delays on the way, his deceiving absorption in detail, however, are a sifting of the sensations to get at what is unequivocally real in life. His artistic integrity in this respect knew no bounds. He rose from his agony the night before his death to dictate from personal experience a new version of the death of Bergotte. This overwhelming preoccupation in his art is not so evident in the book which M. Léon

Pierre-Quint entitles *Comment Travaillait Proust*. Proust tells us that he burnt once "presque un volume sur la Bretagne," because it recalled *À l'Ombre des Jours* by the Comtesse de Noailles. His letters abound in discussions of literary composition and of style, and he shows himself a severe critic of the French of his friends as of his own. But the variants M. Pierre-Quint gives us are no variants at all, and do not show Proust at work. They consist mostly of those passages which Jacques Rivière suppressed from the extracts of *À l'Ombre des Jeunes filles en fleurs* which he published in the *Nouvelle Revue Française* of June 1, 1919. What is evident from them, however, is the effort of Proust at architectural harmony, and at unity of impression from a multiplicity of points of view. Interesting also are Proust's addenda to the original text which M. Pierre-Quint points out, and which indicate that he was constantly approaching by tortuous routes a vision of reality more profound than he had seen at first, and which he had to express by delving deeper into his art.

The second part of this volume consists of a bibliography extending to the beginning of 1928 and including as many as 565 titles. It is not a critical bibliography, but until we get the *Bibliographie Proustienne*, by G. de Silva-Ramos, announced by Gallimard, this one must do. There are several omissions, among which: E. R. Curtius, "Der Perspektivismus Marcel Prousts," in *Wissen und Leben*, Zurich, 1925; article by Hermann Bahr in *Preussische Jahrbücher*, Berlin, 1926; Richard Aldington, "The Approach to M. Proust," in *English Review*, London, 1920; J. Bury, "Les Jeux funèbres pour M. Proust," *French Quarterly*, Manchester, 1923; Mrs. Edith Wharton, *The Writing of Fiction*, New York and London, 1925; G. R. Turquet-Milnes, *From Pascal to Proust*, London, 1926; J. Murray, "Marcel Proust," *Modern Language Review*, London, 1926; Benjamin Crémieux, *Le XX^e Siècle*; Georges Girard, "Notes bio-bibliographiques, Marcel Proust," *Maison du livre français*, Paris, 1922; Gilbert Charles, "Marcel Proust," *La Revue critique des idées et des livres*, Paris, 1920; Herman Grégoire, "Marcel Proust," *La Bataille Littéraire*, 1922; Junia Zetty, "Étude sur Marcel Proust," *Le Flambeau*, 1922; Jean Dalligny, "L'Œuvre de Marcel Proust," *Vie des Peuples*, Paris, 1923; Johannes Tielrooy, "Marcel Proust," *Gids*, Amsterdam, 1924; R. Mariani and M. Dickmann, "Marcel Proust," *Nosotros*, Buenos Aires, 1927; Antonio Herrero, "La Obra de Marcel Proust," *Nosotros*, Buenos Aires, 1923, etc. Several misprints like the following occur: Edwin Muid, for Muir; J. M. Middleton Murry, for Murry; Eduard Shanks, for Edward; *La Nación* (Buenos Aires), for *La Nación*.

To a misprint also must be due the amusing chronological error committed by Princess Bibesco when she speaks of visiting Proust for the last time in the summer of 1923. Proust had been dead since November 18, 1922. More serious is the error committed by M. Pierre-Quint in his *Marcel Proust, sa vie, son œuvre*. He asserts there that the episode "Un Amour de Swann" begins "trente ans avant la naissance de Proust," and that the span of time covered by Proust's narrative is of about 75 years. This would mean, first, that Odette de Crecy was about sixty years old when the narrator met her as "la dame en rose" in his uncle's apartment, an evident absurdity, and, second, that the story begins at the time of Louis-Philippe, when, as a matter of fact, at the beginning of his affair with Odette, Swann speaks of having luncheon with President Grévy, 1879-1887, and Mme Cottard of seeing Dumas' *Francillon* at the Théâtre Français, 1887. The period covered by Proust then must be more exactly that between 1875-1920.

Princess Bibesco's book, *Au Bal avec Marcel Proust*, is the result of two or three

meetings with Proust and of two or three letters she received from him. The body of the book is made up of her delightful comments on some of the letters her cousins Antoine and Emmanuel Bibesco received from Proust. And yet the Princess played a part in the life of Proust. Her share, she confesses candidly, was to represent for him for a while something of the fragrant atmosphere of *À l'Ombre des Jeunes filles en fleurs*. "Vous savez ce que je pense de votre cousine et d'une matinée de printemps," he wrote to Emmanuel. And yet at their first meeting, she confesses, he produced on her "la peur de l'indicible." He saw her with her "enfantine gaité," as he said, and she saw him with his "grands yeux tristes," which seemed to say that "il était l'heure de partir." The portrait she gives us of Proust at a ball is that of a kind but mournful Dante Alighieri in a modern salon. "Sa vue seule me donnait le frisson." His look seemed to pierce the external appearance of things and to invite one into a world of mystery. Thus she saw him: "au bal, en face de moi, sur une petite chaise dorée, tel qu'il sortait du songe, avec sa petite pelisse de fourrure, son visage de douleur, et ses yeux qui voyaient la nuit." And those who have read him from cover to cover see him that way, absorbed in the thrilling spectacle of life, but undivided, and ready at the opportune moment to abandon it. For whatever art does not save from the wreck of life, he came to see, death carries away, and he wanted to save everything. Every artist is divided between life and art, and most of the time he betrays one for the other, when he is not betraying one and the other. Proust was a faithful lover of life in his youth, and so he was able to give himself more completely to his last love, to art, in the end. He was thus one with the writers of to-day who want to live first, and who feel that to write is to be untrue to life, "une erreur"; and he was one with a Baudelaire, a Flaubert for whom to write was to be true to it, to fulfill it, to idealize it. He gives the only acceptable answer to the problem raised by Julien Benda's *La Trahison des Clercs*. As M. Jean de Pierrefeu writes:

"Grâce à lui, l'élite tout au moins a retrouvé le sens de la spiritualité et le goût des valeurs littéraires qu'elle était sur le point de perdre."

S. A. RHODES

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Louis de Robert, *De Loti à Proust. Souvenirs et Confidences*, Paris, Flammarion (1928), 247 pp.

Louis de Robert was one of that ultimate group of ten that stood guard around Zola when, just after his condemnation in the Dreyfus affair, he was menaced by an infuriated mob that wanted to drown him in the Seine. Among the others were Jaurès, Clemenceau, Mirbeau, Labori. . . . He knew the glory of being excluded from the drawing-room of Alphonse Daudet because of his loyalty to Dreyfus' defender. . . . He was the fraternal friend of Marcel Proust and for a while his literary counsellor (see his *Comment débuta Marcel Proust*, with *Lettres Inédites*, *Rev. de Fr.*, Jan. 1925). To Loti he was more than a friend,—one of the two or three men, perhaps, who never quarreled with this dandified, reserved, but internally burning and oversensitive International Lover. . . . At the very beginning of his career he had joined enthusiastically the *Théâtre Libre*, and even after he had been dismissed as the poorest actor who ever stammered lines, he remained one of the staunchest supporters of Antoine's enterprise. . . . What is admirable about Louis de Robert is the unstinting generosity with which he proclaims his reverence for men greater than he, more talented or successful than he.

A life of illness robbed him of the fame and the rewards he could have attained. Although he saw fame coming to several of his friends and the rewards monopolized by the *arrivistes* and the mediocre, he was, in his poverty, easily enough consoled by the loyal friendship of a very few, by his knowledge that he had served his friends and his convictions generously and without reproach. It is far better to be such a man than a successful author.

His memoirs, *De Loti à Proust*, are not solely the records of his intimate relations with these two artists; they contain interesting materials for the history of modern letters. As a journalist, a critic and, in later life, a novelist, Louis de Robert knew a number of the grandees of the French literature of yesterday:—Octave Mirbeau, on whom this book contains a chapter; Edmond Rostand, with his musketeer mustachios and his innumerable felts, who was his neighbor for years, but with whom he never achieved a lasting friendship; de Montesquiou, Coppée, Huysmans, Bourget, Jammes and others. Strange to note how this invalid, bed-ridden for years, has outlived almost his entire generation!

Louis de Robert has written only one novel that may be remembered, *Le Roman du Malade*, but the finest work of art he ever created,—greater than his writings,—is his own life and mind. To be friend and guide of Loti and Proust is preferable to having published twenty novels praised by the critics, but forgotten even before the author is laid to rest. Even more than this book, although replete with first-hand information, the man behind it captivates our interest and our respect.

G. L. VAN ROOSBROECK

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La Double Vie de Gérard de Nerval par René Bizet. "Le Roman des grandes existences." Paris, Plon, 1928.

M. Bizet accurately describes his book as: "une sorte de chronique où alternent le fantastique et le réel. . . ." He has done the task he set himself, sometimes with delicate charm, sometimes inadequately. His idea, doubtless, was to write a book in the manner of Gérard himself, part dream and part actuality; but in so doing he inevitably laid himself open to comparison with the author of *Sylvie*, which is not to his advantage.

The book is rather *décousu*. To anyone unfamiliar with the biography of Gérard de Nerval, it would be rather confused and incoherent in spots. One might argue that the life of the French poet was itself *décousue*; but in reply I should say: "All the more need of clarity in narrating it." Even in *Aurelia*, where he describes his delirium, Gérard is as lucid as any classicist. Even the "mad" sonnets are marvels of form, with a logic of their own.

Too often M. Bizet steps in front of the picture. But his personality is a delightful one, and this projection of himself into his book on Gérard fits his theory that biography, as well as history, is merely reading one's own life and character into a framework of past events. With such a theory it is small wonder that M. Bizet welcomes the lack of documentation on the poet's youth, and pokes fun at modern analysis of character.

The Viennese episode, Chapter VIII, seems to me to miss fire. After a lengthy preparation, which is more mystifying than illuminating, he springs a sudden surprise on the reader, who is left cold and puzzled rather than astonished or thrilled.

Other episodes, however, are well selected and well written. There is genuine humor and insight into Gérard in the juxtaposition of the two letters from Mar-

seilles, the one to his father and the other to his friends (pp. 66-69). Chapter VI, "Où sont nos amoureuses?" gives a living picture of the poet, and tells more about his mental and physical habits than many a fat biography with photostats of certificates of birth and burial.

Though Bizet's book is pleasant reading and more condensed than Aristide Marie's excellent life of Gérard, I should first recommend the latter's own works, which are largely autobiographical. But especially I should recommend the essays on the poet by Théophile Gautier. If Nerval's personality is even more interesting than his writings, then Gautier's picture of his friend might be said to be Gérard's masterpiece.

IRVING BROWN

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Phyllis E. Crump, *Nature in the Age of Louis XIV*, Routledge, London, 1928.

It has long been an accepted tradition in all chronicles of French literary history that the *grand siècle* failed in its attempts to give an adequate expression of nature. In vain did Victor Cousin¹ assert that the age of Louis XIV had a feeling for nature. The consensus of opinion is that man, as a moral being, held the center of interest in the seventeenth century, and that in the eyes of that epoch, nature served merely as a stage-setting for the microcosm. Koerting² squarely denied all sense for nature to the novel of the century, and when one recalls the descriptive passages abounding in Mlle de Scudéry's lucubrations, not only in volume X of *Clélie* quoted by the author of the work under review but in the *Grand Cyrus* as well,³ one must admit that nature had to be man-made, tame and artificial in order to please the age of Louis XIV.

The pattern, no doubt, originated in the Italy of the Renaissance, and the nature ideal of seventeenth century France closely agrees with that of the Italian Baroque, masterfully portrayed by Valdemar Vedel.⁴ This conventional cliché certainly had to cross the Alps before becoming the vogue in France, and Miss Crump might have done well to look for descriptions of nature not only in the Italian poets, Ariosto and Tasso, but in the writings of the Italian humanists also. Their practice was to place imaginary philosophic discussions amid an idyllic landscape; rocks, and trees, and "varicolored birds," and murmuring fountains were seldom absent from the setting.⁵ Besides, bucolic poetry had been a favorite genre of the Neo-Latin poets of the Renaissance ever since the fourteenth century, and in Poliziano's *Ambra* it attained a grade of realism which was not equalled by anyone before the *romans champêtres* of George Sand.

Miss Crump sees the first traces of the rise of the feeling for nature in the developing art of gardening: A great number of treatises written on this subject in the course of the century illustrate her thesis, and she attributes considerable importance to a didactic poem of the Jesuit René Rapin (*Hortorum Libri*, 1665, 1666). Her contention would have been well supported by an interesting passage of Rapin's

¹ *La Société française au XVIIe siècle*, 1858, II, 301.

² *Geschichte des frz. Romans im XVII. Jhd.*, 1885, I, 34.

³ Cf. f. i., v. II, pp. 508-509.

⁴ *Barok i Italiensk og Spansk Aandsliv*, Gyldendal, Copenhagen, 1918.

⁵ As a typical example cf. Fracastoro's *Naugerius sive de Poetica Dialogus*, with an English Translation, by Ruth Kelso, Univ. of Illinois Press, 1924.

preface which she forgot to quote: "Le goût des jardins se répand de plus en plus et se trouve déjà en honneur chez tous les grands."⁶ It might have been also to the point to remember another Latin didactic poem of the kind, the Jesuit Vanière's *Praedium Rusticum* (1706, 1708). Written towards the close of the period, it enjoyed great popularity in the eighteenth century, and was translated into other languages also. It is a veritable encyclopedia of country life, and with its contrast of the wicked city and the innocent country, it reminds of Rousseau in more than one way. A glance at the development of the feeling for nature in England would have offered a striking and instructive parallel.⁷ It would have been useful to consult Vissac's *La Poésie latine en France au siècle de Louis XIV* (1862), whose statement is significant for the subject matter in general:

"L'amour de la nature . . . me paraît se révéler plus souvent et avec plus de bonheur dans les poètes latins que dans les poètes français du grand siècle" (p. 88).

Travel and promenade, the pastoral ideal in drama, romance, eclogue, and idyll, the sense of the picturesque, the feeling for nature of Mme de Sévigné and of La Fontaine, and finally the fine arts are carefully, at times too meticulously, scrutinized by Miss Crump. The results, however, do not differ from the traditional view: "There is practically no instance of Romantic subjective treatment in this age. . . . Nature and the human race are two things apart" (pp. 208-209). With praiseworthy effort, Miss Crump collected a great deal of data, and yet her work is open to criticism for some regrettable omissions. No reference has been made to Fénelon's *Télémaque*, although the predecessor of Chateaubriand and Lamartine would have furnished a wealth of data for the chapters on the "Pastoral Ideal" and on the "Theme of Solitude." He found eloquent and mellifluous words for the charms of life *procul negotiis*, and many a time, his pastoral flute sang the overture to Rousseau's thundering symphony. Philoctetes, Erichon, Termosiris, and Polydamas, episodic heroes of *Télémaque*, whether following Petrarch or more direct John Barclay's *Aneroestes*, never tired of praising the bliss and pleasures of solitary life, and this theme, possibly not without Fénelon's influence, became a *leitmotiv* of pre-Romantic and Romantic literature from Zimmermann to Lamartine and Thoreau.

It is astonishing that Chinard's, Atkinson's, and Fairchild's investigations were left entirely out of consideration. And yet there can be no doubt that a powerful current of fresh air came to France from across the ocean, which considerably contributed to strengthening the craving for a communion of man with nature. The bibliography appended to the work is extensive; important omissions to be noted are the quoted works of Vissac and Koerting, and especially the dissertation of McCann, *Le Sentiment de la nature en France dans la première moitié du XVIIe siècle*, Nemours, 1926. On the whole, due credit must be given to the diligence of Miss Crump, and it is to be regretted that the results of her work are not in proportion with the labor which she expended upon it.

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⁶ Quoted by Vissac, *La Poésie latine*, p. 77.

⁷ Cf. Myra Reynolds, *The Treatment of Nature in English Poetry Between Pope and Wordsworth*, Chicago, 1909, and B. Fehr, *Englische Literatur des XIX. u. XX. Jahrhunderts*, Berlin-Neubabelsberg, 1923, pp. 13 ss.

Leo Hoffrichter, *Die ältesten französischen Bearbeitungen der Mélusinesage*. (Vol. XII of the *Romanistische Arbeiten*, ed. by Dr. Karl Voretzsch) Max Niemeyer Verlag; Halle (Saale), 1928, xi + 128 pp.

The Mélusine tale is one of the favorite themes of French folklore. It may be briefly summed up as follows: Raimondin, the first lord of Lusignan, weds the fairy, Mélusine, whom he had met one day in the woods; he promises never to inquire about her whereabouts on the Sabbath. For a time all is well; Mélusine bears Raimondin ten sons and he prospers mightily. Finally, however, he breaks his vow, sees Mélusine at her bath in the form of a serpent and thereby brings sorrow to his house. The fairy, weeping, leaves her faithless spouse; Raimondin relinquishes the rule of his country to his sons and becomes a hermit on Monserrat.—The two oldest extant versions of this tale in Old French are those of Jehan d'Arras, who composed a prose romance (completed in 1393), known in most of the MSS as *L'Histoire de Lusignan*,¹ and of Couldrette, whose *Roman de Lusignan ou de Parthenay*,² a species of *roman d'aventures* in octosyllabic couplets, was composed about 1403; both endeavor to trace the origin and history of the house of Lusignan with special reference to Mélusine's rôle in its formation.—In the present monograph Hoffrichter proposes to discuss these two works and their common source, then to give some attention to the *provenance* and subsequent history of the theme, finally to make certain corrections of and additions to the text as presented in the edition of F. Michel.

It would certainly appear from an initial examination of the two works that Couldrette's version is derived from that of Jehan d'Arras' prose romance. Besides the fact that the chronology would seem to support that contention, one finds a certain definite similarity of treatment as far as the main theme is concerned, and there are even verbal parallels (p. 23). Certain scholars, therefore, including Gaston Paris,³ have taken it for granted that Couldrette utilized the work of the earlier author. Hoffrichter makes a detailed examination of the two texts and comes to the conclusion that they are independent of each other for the following reasons: (1) As far as the verbal parallels are concerned, they merely form part of the professional literary artist's stock in trade (p. 23). (2) Couldrette's treatment is much more concise than Jehan's; besides he omits many of the miraculous episodes to be found in the earlier author. Now the tendency of the adapter in the Old and Middle French periods was to amplify and embellish rather than to abridge or to omit (p. 23). (3) Jehan d'Arras' text presents certain contradictions, which are due to his willful insertion of historical facts that originally had nothing to do with the fairy-tale; there is no trace of these contradictions in Couldrette, which indicates the latter's independence (p. 27).

Yet the similarities between the two are striking enough to indicate that if one did not borrow from the other, they both must have utilized an identical preceding text. As a matter of fact, both assure the reader that they employed the "*vraies croniques*"; but unfortunately they fail to name any direct source and none has been found as yet. Hence one must reconstruct the missing source, which Hoffrichter calls X: he considers that the elements common to Jehan d'Arras and Couldrette must have been taken from X. First of all there are undoubted borrowings from the

¹ Ed. by Ch. Brunet, Paris, 1854 (*Bib. Elzévirienne*); also by E. Lecesne, Arras, 1888.

² Ed. by Francisque Michel, Niort, 1854.

³ For the references, cf. Hoffrichter, pp. 12-3.

Voyage d'outre mer de Jehan de Mandeville, 1356. Again, there is in both a direct reference to the *Metaphysics* of Aristotle, which had been recently translated by Nicole Oresme (d. 1382). There is also an allusion in both to the exile of the last king from Armenia. Now, Leo VI, the last king of Armenia, was exiled in 1375: hence we have a convenient *terminus a quo* for the common source (pp. 33-4). Hoffrichter now proceeds to describe X, the common source, with considerable detail. Couldrette (ll. 88-9) had said his source was rhymed; hence version X was in rhyme. He had said that his own verse was in a different meter; hence, inasmuch as Couldrette had written in octosyllabic verse, X must have been in 10 or 12 syllable verse. Hoffrichter even ventures to name the author of X: Guillaume de Machaut was the only poet of the time to deal with the *matière* of Lusignan in a poem of his own; hence it is quite likely that he is the author of X (p. 38).

Having taken us back to the common source X, Hoffrichter now attempts to reconstruct the *Märchen* and ultimately the myth upon which the Mélusine story is based—or rather he gives an account of what his predecessors have done. Many and varied explanations have been offered. L. Desaivre thinks Mélusine was originally a local fairy of Poitou. E. Blacher compares the tale of Mélusine with a Vedic hymn because therein there is an invocation to the goddess Milushī, Indian goddess of rain and tempest; he identifies Mélusine with Milushī and considers that our tale has an Indogermanic origin. L. Favre confutes Blacher and considers that we have here a Poitevin-French local saga. Fräulein Marie Novack confutes Favre: she compares the Mélusine tale to the Indian Apsaras Urvāṣī, and sees in Mélusine a goddess of the clouds. Other scholars have added their opinions, which are ingenious at least. As for the name Mélusine, it has been derived from (1) Mère Lusine (L. Desaivre); (2) Milushī (E. Blacher); (3) Melissa (F. Liebrecht); (4) *Me + Ilysowen* (Bullet): *me* = half and *Ilysowen* (pronounced *lusen*) = snake in Celtic.⁴ Hoffrichter prudently refrains from taking a definite stand on this vexed question (p. 64).

Now that we have some idea (though I fear it is a decidedly confused one) of the ultimate nature of the Mélusine tale, Hoffrichter (Chap. VIII) traces its development in literature from Gervasius Tilberiensis (12th cent.) to André Lebey, whose *Roman de la Mélusine* appeared in Paris in 1925.

In his *Appendix* Hoffrichter gives some supplementary material to bolster up the edition of F. Michel, which is indeed very faulty. He describes all the existing manuscripts; then utilizing two of these MSS (*Bibl. Nat., Fonds fr.*, Nos. 24,383 and 20,041) he fills in certain gaps in the version of Michel, who had merely copied the oldest MS (*Bibl. Nat., Fonds fr.*, No. 12,575). Finally he gives all the variants from the two aforementioned MSS for the whole poem.

Hoffrichter's *opus* marks at least one notable advance in our knowledge of the Mélusine tale. He has demonstrated with at least a high degree of probability the existence of a common source from which the versions of Jehan d'Arras and Couldrette are derived, although the attribution of this common source to Guillaume de Machaut is purely hypothetical. Likewise his textual criticism of and additions to Michel's edition are valuable; and hereafter anyone consulting the poem should utilize Hoffrichter's *apparatus*. On the other hand, he has added nothing to the folkloristic study of the tale; he seems to have been taken aback by the diligent but mutually contradictory efforts of his predecessors.

⁴ For all these references cf. Hoffrichter, pp. 57-64; p. 68, n. 1.

Richard T. Holbrook, *Guillaume Alecis et Pathelin*. (Vol. XIII, pp. 285-412 of the *University of California Publications in Modern Philology*) Berkeley, 1928, xi + 127 pp.

In September, 1926, Prof. Louis Cons published a monograph on the *Pathelin*¹ in which he attributed the authorship of that farce to Guillaume Alecis. Prof. Cons' arguments may be resumed thus: There are in the *Pathelin* certain reminiscences and a certain terminology that smack of the church; hence it must have been written by a priest or monk. But the farce is evidently the work of a subtle and worldly-wise spirit; hence the author must have been a subtle and worldly-wise priest or monk. Now a monk of that category, Guillaume Alecis, has written certain poems, notably the *Blason de faulxse amours* and the *Faintes du monde*,² which are full of reminiscences of and allusions to personages and places that would be significant to the author of the *Pathelin*. Again, in certain cases line so-and-so of the *Faintes* will correspond to the similarly numbered line in the *Pathelin*, indicating a certain desire to reveal the kinship of the two works. For, says Prof. Cons, Alecis as a monk would be unwilling to acknowledge the authorship of the *Pathelin*; but as a man of letters he did not wish to forego all claims to the work. Hence he has left certain clues to the authorship of the *Pathelin* which it has been left for the twentieth century to unravel. Prof. Cons has made out a good case on the whole, though he lays rather too much stress upon the numerically corresponding lines; and if Alecis' authorship of the *Pathelin* is not certain, it may be regarded as probable.

Prof. Holbrook in the present monograph (written in French) has essayed to complete and to substantiate the work of Prof. Cons in several ways. He has added certain allusions, resemblances and *concordances numériques*³ to those already collected by Prof. Cons; he has given different interpretations of certain passages; but above all (and this constitutes the originality of his treatment), he has adopted a radically different type of demonstration:

"La présente étude différera à plusieurs égards de celle de Cons, mais surtout par l'application d'un raisonnement mathématique et d'une formule mathématique⁴ au problème qui nous intéresse" (p. x).

In the case of the allusions, interpretations, resemblances, etc., that are not directly connected with his mathematical argumentation, Prof. Holbrook has not really affected the question of authorship very much. He has gone into the matter more systematically than had Prof. Cons and has collected in all no less than 141 examples of similarities between the *Pathelin* and the works of Guillaume Alecis. Certain similarities noted by Prof. Cons were rather doubtful;⁵ those added by Prof. Holbrook are sometimes no less so; cf. the following:

¹ *L'Auteur de la farce de Pathelin*; Vol. XVII of the *Elliott Monographs*, Princeton, 1926.

² Cf. the critical edition of the works of Guillaume Alecis, edited by Piaget and Picot; 3 vols., Paris, 1896, 1899, 1908 (*S. A. T. F.*).

³ By *concordances numériques* (a term I shall employ throughout this review) Prof. Holbrook means similarities between lines similarly numbered in the *Pathelin* and that particular work of Guillaume Alecis with which the *Pathelin* is being compared.

⁴ Prof. Holbrook acknowledges his indebtedness to Messrs. B. A. Bernstein and R. H. Sciobereti of the Mathematics Department, University of California.

⁵ Occasionally Prof. Holbrook admits as much (pp. 314-5, 316, 332).

Pathelin

"Souffist il se je vous estraine
d'escus d'or, non pas de monnoye?"
(298-9)

Pathelin

"Dieu sera
payé des premiers, c'est raison;
veyc ung denier, ne faisons
rien qui soit ou Dieu ne se nomme."
(230-5)

Blason de faulses amours

"... tenez vous atant
Que vous serez payez tant." (298-9)

Faintes du monde

"L'autre semble en Dieu tout ravy
Qui est ung tresfort ypocrite." (117-8)

Likewise his various interpretations of certain similarities add but little to the question. At times indeed the argumentation is so fine-spun and the results so doubtful that Prof. Holbrook is led to an admission like the following (à propos of his interpretation of l. 912 of the *Pathelin* and a corresponding passage in the *Blason de faulses amours*):

"'Fantaisies!' dira-t-on. 'Subtilités sans aucune base!' Peut-être, mais qu'on veuille bien me permettre d'avoir tort de temps en temps" (p. 317).

As Prof. Holbrook himself has remarked, his chief contribution to the question of the authorship of the *Pathelin* is his mathematical argumentation. This he applies particularly to the *concordances numériques*, and specifically to such as exist between the *Pathelin* and the *Faintes*. He points out twelve instances in all and believes that the reader should admit ten of these twelve (pp. 400, 401). That being the case, he considers that no mere chance is involved but there is definite evidence of an Intention and a Plan. But he is not content to merely posit that statement; he makes a mathematical equation of it, thus (pp. 399-400):

" P = Probabilité (les chances pour que telle coïncidence . . . soit fortuite).
 n = le nombre de pensées différentes possibles dans un vers quelconque.
 k = le nombre de vers dans chaque poème.
 a = le nombre de cas des mêmes pensées se trouvant dans des vers portant le même numéro dans les deux séries."

He now derives the formula:

$$P = \frac{1}{n^a} \cdot \left(\frac{n-1}{n} \right)^{k-a} = (\text{approximativement}) \frac{1}{n^2}$$

and then arrives at the result, truly disheartening for opponents of his thesis, that the chances are 5,804,900,000,000,000,000,000,000 to 1 against the possibility of the coincidences being due to mere chance. Once he has established this point, Prof. Holbrook goes on to describe the Intention and the Plan, which, as we have seen, Prof. Cons had already suggested in part: Guillaume Alecis, unwilling to openly declare himself as the author of the *Pathelin* but determined to leave a key to his authorship for the benefit of posterity, composed the *Faintes* with a copy of the *Pathelin* before him and conscientiously elaborated the *concordances numériques*:

"... dans cette signature, à la fois si originale, si précise et si sûre, il est impossible de ne pas reconnaître la main de l'auteur des deux ouvrages en question: les *Faintes* et *Pathelin*" (p. 405).

Let us now analyze this mathematical demonstration. As we have seen, it rests upon the twelve *concordances numériques* between the *Pathelin* and the *Faintes*. If these *concordances* were absolute and unconditioned, we might possibly concede Prof. Holbrook the right to indulge in mathematical formulae and equations. In

point of fact, the more closely we examine the supposed *concordances*, the more we are led to question their appositeness. Let us consider an example or two:

Pathelin

"Qu'estoit ce ung bon marchant, et saige." (123)

"Rien quiconques,
mais pleureray a chaudes larmes."
(495-6)

Faintes

"Tel est renommé bien saige homme
Qui en effect n'est qu'une beste." (123-4)

"Qui le cuidoit mettre en bon termes;
Tel en plourant a souspiré
Qui moult a perdu de ses lermes."
(494-6)

I choose these two *concordances* because Prof. Holbrook makes out what he thinks is a strong case for each (pp. 326, 355). It will be seen that in the first parallel the word "saige" and in the second the word "larmes" ("lermes") occur in both the *Pathelin* and the *Faintes*; but what else have these passages in common? I cannot here reproduce Prof. Holbrook's argumentation; the reader must judge for himself. Other *concordances* have not even verbal similarities.—As a matter of fact, Prof. Holbrook is now and then a trifle skeptical himself about their authenticity. He has observed that

"dans chacun des dix ou onze ou douze cas en question notre décision dépend forcément d'un jugement subjectif, personnel" (p. 396),

hence absolutely unmathematical. Again, he himself has pointed out the fact that where there is a more or less evident allusion there is no *concordance numérique*.¹—But, if one thus disposes of the *concordances*, what is to become of the mathematical formula?

It must not be thought that Prof. Holbrook is uniformly skeptical about his mathematical argumentation; he generally has abundant faith therein, and at times seems to be rather impatient with those who do not follow him:

"La formule que je viens d'appliquer . . . ne peut avoir la moindre valeur pour les lecteurs qui n'ont pas compris les raisonnements mathématiques qui jalonnent ce livre, ou bien pour les lecteurs qui ne comprennent pas la formule même" (p. 400).

Prof. Holbrook seems to imply one of two things: (1) either his demonstration is a mere *jeu d'esprit* intended only for such Romance scholars as know their higher mathematics, or else (2) it is intended as a serious contribution to scholarly research, and in that case a certain number (I fear a considerable number) of Romance scholars are definitely excluded from the higher realms of research because of their lack of mathematical training.

As a matter of fact, I fail to see that Prof. Holbrook has bolstered up what after all is the vulnerable point of Prof. Cons' thesis, to wit: it is all very well to point out similarities between the *Pathelin* and the works of Guillaume Alecis (very few scholars would deny that they exist); but what tangible proof have we that Guillaume may not simply have been influenced by a work which was admittedly extremely popular at the time? What *tangible* proof have we that he was the author? Prof. Cons has argued persuasively and on the whole convincingly for Guillaume's authorship of the *Pathelin* (rather in spite of the *concordances numériques* than because of them), but his solution is plausible and not inevitable; and I fear that we are still far removed

¹ "Je me borne à constater ce fait sans hasarder de conjecture sur les motifs qui peuvent avoir amené Alecis à éviter de telles concordances" (p. 335).

from the "preuve mathématique" (p. x) that Prof. Holbrook promised us at the beginning of his study.

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Allotte de la Fuye, *Jules Verne, sa vie, son œuvre*. "Les Documentaires," Simon Kra, Paris, 1928, 292 pp.

M. de la Fuye has given us an interesting and well-written biography. What in this book particularly interests the reviewer is the clear presentation of the influences that contributed to make Jules Verne what he was. Atmosphere and place will not create a literary imagination, but they will constantly influence the sensitiveness of a writer. This is clearly seen in the case of Verne. Jules was born on the Île Feydeau, a little island in the Loire, in the midst of the city of Nantes. This island had been bought and settled in 1721, by a company of planters of Santo Domingo. When Jules was born there in 1828 the old buildings, the streets, the very magnolia trees in the rue Kervégan planted by the West Indies merchants, everything was still redolent of the romantic palmy days of the French trade with the Antilles. At the end of the rue Kervégan young Jules could see the masts of the sailing ships slowly rising with the tide. He began then to visit the world in imagination. He could see the sailors bringing a strange cargo from their ships, coconuts, pineapples, parakeets, monkeys and canary birds. As he walked along under the old magnolia trees he would listen to their heavy ivory flower-cups cracking on the sand underneath his feet and he would breathe in their violent perfume.

His immediate family was not without its influence upon him. There was, for instance, his uncle de Chateaubourg, a painter and a cousin of Chateaubriand. He was wont to tell the young Jules stories of Chateaubriand's travels in the land of the Iroquois.

Jules began law and went to Paris to finish his studies. There he was in immediate contact with literature. He frequented the Salon Barrère where he met some of the greatest literary personalities of the day, such as A. Dumas. He became the friend of Jaques Arago, the traveler, the brother of the astronomer, and at his house he met and made friends with many well-known explorers, geographers and other specialists.

The current of influence at Paris was therefore both literary and scientific. Among many literary influences we should mention Poe, the American author, who was becoming known at that time in France. Jules used to say that he admired Poe in every way except for his "angoisse morbide."

The idea of writing a scientific romance did not take shape all at once in Verne's mind. He seems to have brought to the publisher Hetzel a series of studies on aeronautics and on Africa. Hetzel was struck not so much by the scientific learning displayed by the author as by the facility and clearness with which he presented this to the reader. Hetzel suggested that he make a novel out of them and bring it to him. Two weeks later Jules Verne appeared at Hetzel's with the manuscript of *Cinq semaines en ballon*. When Hetzel had read the manuscript he signed a contract with Jules Verne whereby the latter became his property. Verne bound himself to furnish for a period of twenty years two volumes a year or forty volumes within a shorter space of time. For this Verne would receive 20,000 francs a year, or 10,000 francs a volume, a contract which Hetzel annulled five times and re-made, always to the great advantage of the author.

Jules Verne got many a hint for his books from the many discoveries of the latter half of the nineteenth century. His first success, *Cinq semaines en ballon*, owed something to the attempts of Félix Tournachon (Nadar). On October 4, 1863, Nadar set out to make an extended flight in his balloon, the "Giant," the largest constructed up to that time. In the basket with him were many well-known people, and even a negro (to serve as interpreter in case they came down over Africa?). The "Giant" came down to earth at Meaux. In another attempt it fell at Nievbouurg in Hanover, and Nadar and his wife who was with him just missed breaking their necks. This was after Verne's novel had appeared, but Verne and Nadar were close friends and Verne no doubt got some general ideas from him.

While writing his *Voyage au centre de la terre*, Verne frequented the house of Charles Sainte-Claire Deville. The latter had specialized in seismology and had explored the volcanoes of the Antilles, of Ténériffe and had even gone down into the crater of Stromboli. We can see where Verne got his idea of a descent into the earth through a volcano. In this very *Voyage* he has the hero come forth from the mouth of Stromboli, after having traversed the center of the world after his entrance by way of a volcano in Iceland.

Verne had a remarkably keen scientific imagination. The great submersible of the *Vingt mille lieus sous les mers* was certainly a prophecy of the modern submarine. The "Albatross" of Jules Verne was a helicopter, driven by a giant propeller and guided by seventy-five rotating and lifting propellers. This very idea of a helicopter has been tried out recently, with some success; as for example in the Spaniard Cierva's *auto-gire* in which he recently crossed from England to France.

Jules Verne loved peace and believed in it. He hoped to see the dawn of a new era of peace and civilization, and he believed that France should be the first to usher it in. When the Great Eastern had finished her task of laying the Atlantic cable and the President of the United States had cabled to Queen Victoria, "Glory to God in the highest and on earth peace to men of good will," Verne was moved by enthusiasm, and he wrote to the editor of the *Daily Mail* that "to be able to live in constant communication with all humanity would prevent many a misunderstanding."

Verne seems to have had a kind of prophetic intuition of the coming of the Great War, in his *Cinq cents millions de la Begum*. In this story a wealthy Indian princess dies and leaves her enormous riches equally divided between two great-nephews, one a German and the other a Frenchman. The former spends billions to build the City of Steel of which he shall be the king. He gets together explosives destined to annihilate France-Ville, the city of ordered beauty, constructed by the French heir of the fortune, who is a real friend of man. The dreadful plan fails. A little Alsatian engineer slips into the very lair where the gigantic cannon of the King of Steel is leveled and the Latin Ideal prevails over the Teutonic.

Verne was of a curiously retiring disposition. He became a myth while still alive and well-known foreign writers actually came to France to call upon him and see whether he was in the flesh or no. He was a poor conversationalist, for, as often happens with those who write much, his words flowed from his fingers rather than from his lips. He wrote in pencil, then copied in ink, and then he would correct and recorrect seven or eight proofs.

Jules Verne's place in literature is well fixed by now. He bears the same relation to French literature as do one or two successful writers of detective fiction in English. He had an imagination of scientific quality, but not one that was always

of a literary quality. His prose was clear and expressive, at times even poetic. He was as chaste in thought as in language, so that any child may read his books. It takes more than all this, however, to be a great literary artist. He belonged to or rather he originated the school of scientific or pseudo-scientific romance. He said of himself—"En fait d'école, je crois bien n'être que la mienne."

Much of his work is already forgotten. He wrote nearly a hundred volumes, but few read them all today. A half dozen may well continue to live for a long time to come, not only in French but in many of the languages of the world. The reason why much of his work is neglected now is that many of his scientific conceptions have been in a large measure fulfilled.

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R. A. Soto y G. L. van Roosbroeck, *Un olvidado precursor del modernismo francés: Della Rocca de Vergato*. Institut des Études Françaises, Columbia University, 1928.

The value of this little study far outranks its modest size. Della Rocca, who was born in Lima, Peru, in 1850, and whose first collection of verses in French, *Les Feuilles du cœur*, appeared in 1877, in Paris, is another link in the chain of Franco-South American cultural relationships. For though his literary baggage is not as substantial as that of a Rubén Darío, he has the advantage of having been a precursor, though a humble one. With some of the claims made by his present sponsors, it is legitimate to disagree, nevertheless. One cannot accept without the strongest reservations the opening paragraph of the study that "Como todas las escuelas literarias francesas, el simbolismo recibió desde el principio la influencia extranjera." Della Rocca is also spoken of as "uno de los precursores de la futura revolución hacia el vers-librisme." But in a footnote it is stated that "en la edición del *Livre des Incas* (1880) que hemos usado no se observa esta innovación." So one must accept it merely on faith. It is very likely that Della Rocca was himself, rather than guiding it, merely being carried along in the literary current of the period which had already shown its characteristics in such works as Tristan Corbière's *Amours jaunes* (1873), Rimbaud's *Une Saison en Enfer* (1873), *Voyelles*, *Le Bateau ivre*, which Verlaine knew as early as his affair with Rimbaud (1872-1873), Mallarmé's *Après-midi d'un Faune* (1876), and, in a lower sphere, which was that of Della Rocca, in such literary manifestations as the *Hydropathes*, the *Hirsutes*, the *Chat noir*, of all of which our poet can have been but an echo. But to give even an echo, one must be tuned to the proper pitch, and Della Rocca was, as this study shows. So that it is a valuable and authoritative addition to the chapter on the history of Symbolism in France.

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STUDIES ON THE FRENCH RENAISSANCE

- D. Murarasu, *La Poésie néo-latine et la Renaissance des Lettres antiques en France (1500-1549)*, Librairie Universitaire J. Gamber, Paris, 1928, xvi + 184 pp.
- Josèphe Chartrou, *Les Entrées solennelles et triomphales à la Renaissance (1485-1551)*, Les Presses Universitaires de France, Paris, 1928, 158 pp.
- Jean-H. Mariéjol, *La Vie de Marguerite de Valois, reine de Navarre et de France (1553-1615)*, Librairie Hachette, Paris, s. d., 13 + 384 pp.
- René Colas, *Les Styles de la Renaissance*, René Colas, Editeur, Paris, 1928, 64 pp., 160 plates.

During the first half of the sixteenth century in France, there was a group of Neo-Latin poets who have so far been generally ignored by literary critics. M. Henri Chamard commented on the neglect that has overtaken them in his *Origines de la Poésie de la Renaissance*, and drew attention to the need of a "travail d'ensemble" that would deal with their literary activities. M. Murarasu's book is an outgrowth of this suggestion.

Writing in a practically virgin field, the author has begun by limiting his subject. He is not preoccupied with questions of form. What he seeks to determine is the contribution of the poets to the introduction and establishment of Humanism in France. These men belonged primarily to a generation of intellectual pioneers, and present all the phases of the psychology of an age of transition. They are a militant group who turned to literary propaganda as well as to abstract letters, as is seen by their ardent advocacy of the founding of the Collège de France, a stand that incurred for them the wrath of the Sorbonne, the defender of traditional education. M. Murarasu writes in enthusiastic terms of the part played by the Latinists in the laicization of knowledge, which he considers a movement of paramount importance for the development of Humanism, and which he makes the central idea of his book. His treatment of this topic, however, would have gained in breadth if he had developed it more fully; if he had elaborated, for instance, his allusion to the position held by the struggle for the laicization of knowledge in the intellectual history of the first part of the sixteenth century, which is in itself an ill-known aspect of the period, as has recently been pointed out. But in such a new field an author can only touch on many points that would bear further development, as the allusion (p. 73) to the "foule de genres depuis la fable jusqu'à l'épopée" to be found in Franco-Latin letters between the end of the fifteenth century and 1521, for instance, or the suggestive statement (p. 135) that links Salmon Macrin with the Pléiade. Next to their defense of the Collège de France, the most significant contribution of the Latinists to French letters was their influence upon the Pléiade. The Latin poets were precursors who never attained their own ideals, but they blazed the trail for the poets of the vernacular. In fact, the development of the Pléiade paralleled that of the Neo-Latin poets, with one exception, that the Pléiade succeeded where the Latinists failed, is the conclusion arrived at by M. Murarasu who gives many excerpts and makes a strong case for the importance of Latin verse in source work in the sixteenth century. A poem of Etienne Dolet testifies to the friendly intercourse that existed between the Latinists and the poets who wrote in French, and thus shows how easily literary theories could spread from one group to another.

In tracing the origins of the Franco-Latin group, great importance is attributed

to the French medieval tradition by the author who holds that the Italian influence has been overrated in their case, as it has likewise been in the case of the French Renaissance as a whole. The presentation of this oft-discussed theme would gain if the chapter on French medieval culture had been introduced here instead of coming later in the book, thus entailing a certain amount of repetition. As may be expected with such new material, some of the author's findings will probably arouse discussion and a re-examination of opinions in the light of the results that he brings. M. Murarasu justly complains of the paucity of well-edited texts and of bibliographical material on his subject; hence the added value of the author's detailed sixteen-page bibliography which lists both rare and well-known books. He has not, however, included the two volumes entitled *Histoire des lettres* in the *Histoire de la Nation française*, edited by Gabriel Hanotaux, where considerable space is given to French men of letters who have written in Latin. M. Murarasu's suggestive and informative volume, which opens up new vistas and which should stimulate an interest in Renaissance Latin verse, is a reprint from the *Mélanges de l'Ecole roumaine en France*, V, 1926.

The spread of the Classical spirit in a more popular medium is seen in *Les Entrées solennelles et triomphales à la Renaissance*, a *thèse complémentaire* for the *doctorat ès lettres* at the University of Paris, by Joseph Chartrou. Primarily a study in decorative art, it evokes with great richness of detail a picturesque aspect of the first part of the sixteenth century. The problem was to trace the change that the *entrée royale* underwent from 1485, when it was still medieval in tone, to 1551, when it had become a Renaissance triumph. In other words, this is a study in the introduction and the transforming influence of the Italo-Classical element on French tradition. The author considers the change more apparent than real. "Le décor a beau se moderniser, les idées se modifier, se 'paganiser,' l'ancien symbolisme demeure" (p. 129). True, but it needs to be sought with the zeal of a medieval clerk. A significant contrast is offered by the entrance of Charles VIII into Rouen in 1485, and that of Henry II into the same city in 1550. No longer are mysteries given in open-air theaters along the line of march; no longer do shepherds sing in green arbors. They have been replaced by mythological tableaux, by trophies, garlands and triumphal arches, the latter singularly reminiscent of those arches erected nowadays for the homecoming of victorious troops. The author records the influence of the Italian triumphs upon the French army during the Italian wars, and its subsequent effect upon French entries, but considers that the ground had been prepared for the ready acceptance of the Classical element by the wide-spread diffusion in medieval France of the legends of the Neuf Preux, of Francus and their ilk. Both she and M. Murarasu, from their several points of view, emphasize the importance of the French medieval material as a contributory cause in establishing Humanism. The analysis of origins is rarely simple; nor is it so in this case where Classical inspiration was drawn from a variety of primary and secondary sources: from the French medieval tradition, from first hand knowledge of the Classical texts, from Italian authors so impregnated with the spirit of the ancients that they themselves became carriers of Classicism.

A study of the origin of the entries involves still another topic: the interrelated influence of the letters and of the fine arts upon each other. The author has found that the frescoes of Mantegna, the *Triunfi* of Petrarch, and the illustrations of the *Songe de Poliphème*, have all demonstrably influenced the Italian entries as well as the French. To the illustrations of the *Songe* has also been ascribed the vogue of

ruins, a vogue that has left its trace upon the entries. Whether the Renaissance taste for ruins is wholly due to the period's sense of the picturesque and to its desire for accuracy, untinged by that strain of melancholy that characterized the recrudescence of a similar taste in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, is open to question. The sixteenth century mentality is a complicated one, harbouring widely divergent elements; so the distinction just suggested seems relative rather than absolute, Du Bellay's *Antiquités de Rome* being a case in point. This vogue does, however, bring out that frequently noted parallelism between certain aspects of the two periods of transition, the Renaissance and the Romantic era. The book is not only a distinct contribution to the understanding of a century during which the development of the arts and letters consciously influenced each other; it also shows how important these great political pageants of the Renaissance were in popularizing the graphic aspects of Classicism. Because of their wide appeal, they accustomed a whole nation to a new sense of mass and line.

This scholarly thesis contains seven plates, an elaborate description of Henry II's entry into Rouen based on four contemporary narratives, a shorter one of an entry of Maximilian, and a detailed bibliography. There is no name index.

The evolution of mass and line in French architecture due to the Classical influence of the Renaissance is vividly presented in René Colas' *Style de la Renaissance*. The volume is divided into two parts: a preface that gives a short but adequate outline of the history of the architecture of the period, and a series of 160 phototypes of sixteenth century edifices that go to make up the bulk of the volume. The plates are accompanied by explanatory notes, and are well chosen and admirably taken and printed. They bring out the texture of wood, stone and brick, and the tracery of the most tenuous arabesque. They are arranged with an eye to chronology, presenting, first, the introduction of Renaissance ornament in a medieval edifice, as in the case of the façade of the Hôtel Lallemant at Bourges, Gothic in inspiration on one side, adorned in the Italian style on the other. Many plates of Blois, Chambord, Beaugency, to mention only a few, illustrate the more glowing, full-blown specimens of the period. At the end of the volume, several illustrations show the last stages of Renaissance architecture in France, in which the characteristic details and richness of decorative motif have not yet yielded to the style of the *grand siècle*. Aside from its artistic importance, the book will be found valuable in evoking for the reader a background, most useful in a century when building occupied men's minds. Its specific and accurate details will be of aid in visualizing the milieu in which the brilliant court life of the time developed.

It was in these châteaux that dwelt Marguerite, the subject of M. Mariéjol's erudite and circumstantial volume, *La Vie de Marguerite de Valois, reine de Navarre et de France*. His biography of a Renaissance princess of the house of France is a mine of information of the most meticulous and exact kind. Extensive use has been made of Marguerite's *Mémoires* and letters, while the bibliography relative to her and to her activities is comprehensive. While setting forth in unmistakable terms those phases of the Queen's life that have aroused adverse criticism, he has not failed to bring out the difficulties of her position as a pawn in the diplomatic game of a war-rent country. He has limned with an understanding hand the figure of the grand niece of that other Marguerite de Navarre, who, like her illustrious namesake, gathered around her men of letters, whether at Nérac, at Usson, or in Paris. To the end of her life she enjoyed playing the rôle of Maecenas in true Valois-Medicean manner. She likewise followed the tradition of the women of her house in being

a bit of a blue-stocking herself; her library throws a light, at once illuminating and baffling, on her mental processes. M. Mariéjol comments on the fact that while historians have waxed prolix over the Queen's affairs of the heart, they have practically ignored an equally important phase of her life—her intense religious fervour. Her constancy to her faith and the laxity of her personal life present that mixture of sacred and profane love curiously prevalent during the Renaissance. The Queen had a penchant for philosophy, and she too wrote of Platonic doctrines, but in a vein markedly different from that of the first Marguerite. In final analysis, it is her style that calls forth the plauditory adjectives of her biographer. He denies to her any particular standing as a poet, but he considers her *Mémoires* and her letters,—the latter compared by Brantôme to those of Cicero,—as her chief claim to glory.

These four books, by their varied appeal, by their study of the influence of the Classical tradition on the letters, the architecture of the times, on the pageantry both popular and courtly, show once more the vitalizing power of the new knowledge on the France of the sixteenth century.

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A Balzac Bibliography, compiled by William Hobart Royce. Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1929, xvii + 464 pp., \$5.00.

The book under review is a compact and convenient compilation of all matter, biographical and critical, published at various dates in various books and periodicals, on the great French novelist of the past century. It is divided into two parts. The first part is devoted to books, and the second part is given over to periodical publications. The material is arranged throughout alphabetically, in the first part according to authors, and in the second part according to periodicals. In turning the pages of this bibliography, we must simply marvel at the mass of material gathered between the covers of this book. A fairly detailed examination and verification of certain portions shows, moreover, that the work has been compiled with great accuracy, except for the misspelling of a few German titles.

It has always been the opinion of the reviewer that every bibliographical aid should be warmly welcomed without regard to its shortcomings. The man who carries on research work should be grateful for any bibliographical help offered him. It requires a cantankerous critic to pick flaws in a bibliography instead of appreciating the laborious task which this kind of work always represents. Writing bibliographies is a thankless task. It is tedious toil, requiring most patient and painstaking labor. Few care to do this kind of work. When a man is willing to perform this task, it is not often that he meets with appreciation on the part of the very men on behalf of whom he has undertaken it and who are the very first to profit by it. We should think that every help on the arduous road of research would receive a benevolent reception. This is especially to be expected in the case of a book without rivals in its field with which it might invite comparison. Nevertheless, we trust, it may be permitted to point out certain aspects of the book under discussion, which, in our opinion, detract from its value as a reference work.

The first fault we find in this bibliography is that it contains too much irrelevant matter. In a work intended to be comprehensive rather than selective all items listed cannot, of course, be of equal importance. It is possible, however, for a compiler so to overcharge his bibliography as to render it almost useless. The error

which Mr. Royce has committed lies in extending his bibliography to cover works which no student of Balzac ever will consult. Any book that contains the slightest and briefest mention of Balzac is listed. It is often even difficult to find any relation at all between the item mentioned and the subject in hand. Essays on men and movements in the slightest way connected with Balzac, novels from which he drew inspiration for certain of his works, plays founded on his novels, stories in which Balzacian characters reappear, verses on Balzac, and even a novel in which a certain object is named after him,—all find mention in this bibliography. And what shall we say about the inclusion of literary histories intended for primary classes and even of elementary American text book editions, in which Balzac is represented or in any way referred to?

The comments accompanying a great number of the listed items are always clear and often clever. Thus in commenting on an essay in which the question is raised as to whether a certain contemporary novelist owed anything to Balzac and answered in the negative by the writer himself, the compiler of the Balzac Bibliography justly wonders why this essay was ever written. We even wonder, moreover, why it was accepted for publication. There is, however, no uniformity in the arrangement of the comments, and they are altogether lacking just where they are most needed. The compiler should have taken particular pains to point out the relation of a given item to Balzac when this relation is not evident from the wording of the title itself.

What we most regret about this bibliography is its arrangement, which is mechanical rather than methodical. In its present form, the bibliography is very difficult to consult. The student of Balzac, who is interested in a particular work of the novelist or a particular aspect of his art, must go through the bibliography from cover to cover before he can find what he wants. The topical index, which is announced for early publication, will, of course, remove this difficulty. We wonder, however, why the compiler did not follow the method generally employed in bibliographical manuals, which consists in presenting the titles topically and adding, at the end of the book, an alphabetical index of the authors.

Although it is the function of a review to point out errors in a work, it should, in our opinion, never fail in conclusion to pass a broad judgment on it. The general judgment on this book cannot fail to be in its favor. Notwithstanding its minor shortcomings pointed out above, the Balzac Bibliography is a very useful reference work for all students of the novelist and of the literary movement to which he belonged. None who will have occasion to consult this Balzac Bibliography can help appreciating the enormous labor of love that has gone into its preparation.

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Benjamin Crémieux, *Panorama de la littérature italienne contemporaine*, Paris, Kra, 1928, 325 pp. (18 F.).

The myth of the unification of Italy was shattered on the twentieth of September 1870, for on this date the Royalists entered Rome and consecrated upon its traditional altars the long-craved unity of race. The era following this memorable date was to bring about the moral, social, and literary independence of the Italian people. But what has Italy done with this independence since that day in September?

Benjamin Crémieux flashes this question in the opening statement to his *Panorama* on contemporary Italian literature, and, in an intriguing fashion, draws the reader into a discussion which is as fascinating as it is scholarly and brilliant.

Surveying the field *en oblique*, Crémieux musters a rapid, but lucid, evaluation of the sixty odd years which have elapsed since the national myth came into being. In these sixty years, observes the author, the literary preoccupation in Italy has been one of efforts and attempts, of invectives and disputes, of researches and endeavors, —a succession of the most diversified undertakings which have ended up not infrequently in directions diametrically opposite to their inception. No other period in Italian literature has undergone so much agitation, nor has suffered so much by antitheses. Perhaps no other literature has had to face, as has the Italian, in the last half century, a situation as paradoxical as it is unsolvable. Crémieux attributes this order of things to Italy's peculiar literary heredity. National unity brought, as it were, two distinct literatures sharply into relief. On one hand a literature in the classical ideal,—a literature that dreamed of placing Italy again in the glory that it was under Rome. Carducci is a typical exponent of this literature motivated by the principle that in order to take a step forward it was necessary to delve into the glory of Italy's past. This literature, couched in its classical inheritance, is often cold and unconvincing, but possesses, by contrast, its moments of spiritual agitation and patriotic effusions, its indignation against mediocrity, and its revolt against servility. Opposed to this form of literature Italy inherited another quite distinct which has always been in evidence, though without conscious effort,—conveniently called, at different times, fragmentary, sectional or regional, dialectic. Crémieux explains that this literature engendered in regions secluded by a geographic outlay of the Apennines furnishes a natural expression (much of it in dialect) to districts in which people have had to cluster together for centuries under foreign domination. It is a literature of spontaneity, of impulse and of shrewd reflection, best suited to mirror the Italian soul with its regional variations.

In contradiction to Crémieux's belief, the reviewer feels that these two forms of literatures offer to the present day more of a theoretical antithesis to each other, rather than combat and actual counteraction. Yesterday it was the cry of "regionalism" (*verismo*) against "Europeanism"; today the ghost still lingers: "strapaese" holding the doctrine that Italy, regionally or otherwise, should be depicted as such for itself and "by itself," and universality can come to the Italian creation of its own free will or be hanged; whereas "stracittà" (Europeanism or universalism) holds that art should strive above all to find a place for Italy universally. With regard to these distinctions Crémieux makes the following statement which an Italian might accept, but not without a grain of salt, however; "Le classicisme de la grande littérature italienne, loin de la rendre universelle, a fait d'elle, en se combinant avec son nationalisme strict, une des littératures plus closes et, suivant une expression à la mode depuis quelque temps en Italie, une des plus intraduisibles qui soient, tandis que sa littérature régionale et populaire, toute en expression directe, dès qu'elle déborde les particularités de terroir, passe sans difficulté les frontières." We agree readily that regionalism adds to a creation a note of spontaneity and inspiration. Undeniably, too, many masterpieces written in the regional vein enjoy universality, but it would still remain questionable to accept Crémieux's conviction in its entirety. It is certain that it has taken more than the slight regionalism traceable in the masterpieces of Fogazzaro, Pirandello, D'Annunzio, to make mention only of a few, in order to universalize their creations. More credit is due to the Italian genius and his universal knowledge. Crémieux makes a courageous and convincing remark on Pirandello (though an Italian would certainly reject it unless modified): "Mais ni l'inégalité, ni la monotonie de l'œuvre pirandel-

lienne ne doivent masquer son importance dans la littérature de ce demi-siècle. Pirandello est le seul écrivain italien de cette période qui ait su pleinement résoudre pour son propre compte, sans toutefois que sa solution puisse servir d'exemple, le problème qui se pose à tous les écrivains italiens depuis 1870: édifier une œuvre universelle sur une base régionaliste."

Lack of space withholds the reviewer from citing numerous interesting observations made by Crémieux, but one made on Croce and a few others carry too much weight to be passed over. Croce's *Esthetics* has been virtually a literary revolution in Italy, if not elsewhere. Croce's principles have been the motivation for practically the whole Italian reading public to turn "amateur philosophers." And yet Croce has had to combat almost a quarter of a century for the justification of his principles. Crémieux's words with regard to Croce bear weight: "Toute la jeunesse est crocienne, ou, si elle ne l'est pas, combat Croce sur le terrain choisi par lui."

Why is Italian literature often unpopular in Italy? Crémieux furnishes information which, even though obvious to an Italian, must interest others immensely. To begin with, the Italian public has borrowed much reading material from its neighbors (France especially), for the simple reason that foreign literatures offer more enjoyment and less problems. In the whys and wherefores that he uses in his discussions relative to this unpopularity Crémieux draws a forceful conclusion, namely, that Italian literature is essentially didactic (*littérature d'exemple*), whereas the French is a "mirror," or descriptive. Further complications as to the unpopularity of the Italian literature lie in the fact that the trend of Italian literary production has not fallen in groups or schools; the tendency has been that Italian authors have distinguished themselves by their isolation, by the development of their own individualities—"l'individualisme de la production littéraire en Italie, c'est à la fois sa grandeur et sa faiblesse." In France, on the other hand, the best work has been done under a succession of schools. In this connection Crémieux has drawn a subtle, though disputable, distinction between the characters of the Italian and the Frenchman, namely, in that the Frenchman analyzes himself to understand and correct himself; he analyzes others to correct them or to define them. The Italian, however, analyzes himself to utilize himself to the maximum degree; he analyzes others either to use them for his own gain, or else to defend himself from them.

Another reason that is advanced by the author with regard to the failure of Italian literature to interest its vast bourgeoisie lies in the fact that it is a literature written at most by university professors,—it is essentially a literature of the intellectual aristocracy, and the devil himself can explain it to the masses.

The reviewer feels that Frenchmen will be grateful to Crémieux for the method he has followed in getting out his book. The material has been so well organized that a person with only a superficial knowledge of Italian literature will be able to follow the content matter with facility. This, Crémieux has accomplished for two happy reasons: first, he has omitted all authors of scant literary importance, and, secondly, in that he has classified the authors in their regional groups, easy to recall, for their associations and for their points of similarity. An especial feature of the book lies in the ever recurrent comparisons between this and that Italian author to this and that French author,—this and that style to this and that French style. As one of numerous examples take this concise remark made of the style of Panzini: "On voit le ton. Le fond fait penser à Jules Renard, le phrasé à Anatole France." In other words, Crémieux has used good psychology in interpreting Italian values in terms of French. Moreover, the author has made his *Panorama* easily assimilable

by painting in broad strokes the *ensemble* of the Italian production, and never tires by meticulous elaborations. It is a literary production rather than a professorial detailing. To be sure it will not serve as text-book for reference, but in exchange it will reach a greater public.

Emilio Saya, *La letteratura italiana dal 1870 ad oggi*, Florence, Rossini, 1928 (L. 10).

Emilio Saya's study on contemporary Italian literature has come out almost simultaneously with Benjamin Crémieux's *Panorama*, and it is interesting to contrast briefly the methods used by both authors. The *Panorama* is a literary treatment of the main currents and cross-currents in the Italian production in the last sixty years. Emilio Saya's method has been to treat briefly the main currents, but he has, from another point of view, given a masterful and detailed evaluation of the individual authors including discussions on their most important creations. Saya has couched his book in a telegraphic style which is at once bold and amusing. This paragraph is typical of his skill at terseness: "In complesso Francesco Pastonchi mostra brevità di respiro, difetto di emovità, di vita interna, scarsa potenza, non rende vigorosamente, con pochi segni, figure atteggiamenti e scene; dà una lirica tersa, melodica, mobile, con ritmi rigorosi, forme precise, locuzioni fulgide, raggiunge una perfezione di linea e di fattura che solo i grandi conobbero, ma si mantiene quasi sempre alla superficie: osserva, illumina, non crea." The next passage is representative of many others in which Saya displays masterful deductions: "De Amicis . . . non ha l'arte di Giovanni Verga o l'ingegno di Alfredo Oriani, ma ha uno stile lieto, calmo, garbato che è uno specchio di bontà e di nobiltà."

Here and there Emilio Saya falls into sudden boldness which, aside from furnishing a few shocks, is provocative of reflection. Some people would find it hard to forgive him for a statement like this: "Ora Züccoli, pure avendo belle doti di scrittore, quasi sempre non approfondisce, non sintetizza, non crea." Nor would it be easy to forgive him for making only casual mention (and in a footnote at that!) of the ever popular Trilussa.

Intimately familiar with their material both Saya and Crémieux have succeeded, though in diverse ways, in giving new "slants" on authors and movements, long thought over-treated and exhausted. In addition, Emilio Saya has compiled a readable reference book on contemporary Italian literature. Two special features of the book lie in the brief but elucidating sketches on authors little known in and outside of Italy, and the exhaustive, if not complete, bibliography pertinent to his work (see footnotes and especially the lists, pp. 311-312).

In conclusion it could be said that Crémieux's book is given more to a philosophical interpretation of the *ensemble* as against Saya's factual and critical treatment of subject matter. Furthermore, if Crémieux's book lacks complete and detailed information, Saya's, by contrast, lacks broad strokes and imagination. Or, conversely, Crémieux's is purely literary, whereas Saya's is detailed criticism. One book could serve as complementary to the other.

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RUMANIAN LITERARY NOTES

PROSE.—CEZAR PETRESCU'S *Intunecare* (Darkening), which deals with men and events during the years following the war, proves to be a solid contribution to the Rumanian novel.—OMUL CARE ȘI-A GĂȘIT UMBRA (The Man Who Found His Shadow) is the title of the first of four short stories just published by Cezar

Petrescu.—N. PORĂ offers a collection of short stories, *Vraja Cântecului* (The Charm of the Song). In the title-piece, Poră describes the rise of a village boy who, enchanted by the ringing of the church bells, produces, first, a religious music which conquers large audiences, and much later, when reaching maturity, worldly songs which are on everybody's lips. Poră is what we might call a good story teller. He takes a rather simple plot and with it creates an atmosphere of fantasy and charm.—SERGIU DAN and ROMULUS DIANU succeed in resurrecting the popular author of yore in *Viața minunată a lui Anton Pann* (Anton Pann's Wonderful Life, 1794-1854).—EUGEN RELGIS' new edition of *Soare-Răsare* (The Orient) deals with Japan, her legends and heroes. Although Relgis never visited that country, he met Kano Madyasa, a Japanese gentleman, on the shores of the Bosphorus, and the book is the result of their conversations.—ANTON HOLBAN's *Romanul lui Mirel* (Mirel's Novel) marks the début of a young writer.—N. D. D'ARGENTA's *Trotușenii* (The Family Trotușeanu) is also a first novel recently published.

VERSE.—G. BACOVIA's third edition of *Poesii* (Poems) reveals once more the stark reality and poignant sadness of this minstrel of the bizarre.—NICHIFOR CRAINIC gives a third edition of his *Darurile Pământului* (The Gifts of the Earth).—ANTOLOGIA POETILOR OLTENI (The Anthology of the Poets of Oldland) by I. C. Popescu-Polyclet is a regional contribution to Rumanian lyrics.—C. PAJURA's *Cântece 'n Amurg* (Twilight Songs) have the quality of sincerity.—ADRIAN OMU experiments with rhythms in *Jocuri de lumini și întunec* (Play of Light and Shade).

HISTORY, ESSAYS, AND CRITICISM.—V. V. HANEȘ begins the study of the relations between the two Latin countries in the first volume of his *Formarea opiniei franceze asupra României în secolul al XIX-lea* (Formation of French Opinion about Rumania during the Nineteenth Century).—D. DRĂGHICESCU discusses the League of Nations in his first volume of *Nouvelle Cité de Dieu*, Paris, Lesage, 1929.—PROFESSOR IOAN PETROVICI publishes in book form several of his charming lectures under the heading *Valoarea Omului* (Man's Worth).—L. LEONEANU in his *Profiluri și Opere Contemporane* (Contemporary Profiles and Works) undertakes to explain the personalities of I. A. Bassarabescu, Panaite Mușoiu, Eugen Relgis, D. I. Nicolaescu and Alexis Nour. He does it with remarkable clearness in the form of interviews. Among his reviews, we find those of A. Toma's *Poesii*, I. Ludo's *Hodge Podge*, Ion Pas' *Povestea unei fete* (The Story of a Girl) and Stejar Ionescu's *Domnul de la Murano* (The Gentleman of Murano).

THEATRE.—The Bucharest National Theatre opened its new season with Mihail Sorbul's *Letopiseși* (Chronicles).—MARIA VENTURA, formerly of the Paris *Comédie Française*, established a theatre in Bucharest which promises to produce Rumanian plays as well as translations from the French.

EDUCATION.—THE TWENTY-FIRST anniversary of the summer University of Vălenii de Munte was celebrated last July by the founder, Professor N. Iorga, and his guests, among whom were Dr. Alexandru Vaida Voevod, Minister of the Interior, and Messrs. D. R. Ioanițescu, N. Batzaria, Munteanu-Râmnic and Cihodariu. The Princess-Mother Helen sent a letter of congratulation to Professor Iorga. Dr. Vaida Voevod said in his speech that the University is a center of cultural freedom, and assured the founder of the affection and veneration of all Rumanians. An Italian student, Mr. Ruberti, brought the greetings of his colleagues. Professor Iorga, in his address, emphasized the fact that "after the bachelor's degree one's duty is to forget, and then to learn."—THE JASSY LITERARY

SOCIETY RONETTI ROMAN will establish soon a popular university, according to a recent announcement of its president, Carol Drimer. Mihail Sadoveanu, Gala Galaction, Elena Meissner, Eugen Herovanu, Moses Schwarzfeld, Enric Furtună, C. Parhon, George Bogdan, and others, have lectured in the last eight years under the auspices of this society.

FOREIGN RELATIONS.—PROFESSOR G. G. MIRONESCU, Minister of Foreign Affairs, in an interview granted to the Hague *Vaterland*, told the reporter that the government is planning to open an exhibit of Rumanian art in Holland to cement the intellectual relations between the two countries.—LA PETITE ENTENTE DES ÉTUDIANTS was established during a convention in Cluj, Rumania, August 27–September 1st, with members from Czechoslovakia, Rumania and Yugoslavia. Each country is represented in the committee by two students and the headquarters will change every two years from Prague to Bucharest and Belgrade.

PUBLICATIONS.—GRAI ȘI SUFLET (Speech and Soul), edited by Professor Ovid Densusianu, continues its research in the field of philology and folklore.—REVISTA AROMÂNEASCĂ (The Macedo-Rumanian Review), edited by Tache Papahagi and Victor Papacostea, consecrates its pages to the study of the Rumanians in the Balkans.—GRAIUL ROMÂNESC (The Rumanian Speech) is now edited by Professor Simion C. Măndrescu.—ADAM, a publication issued by I. Ludo, offers aside from its symbolic title brilliant contributions by Gala Galaction, Tudor Arghezi, Barbu Lăzăreanu, Paul Zărifopol, A. L. Zissu, Adolphe Stern, H. St. Streitman, Eugen Relgis, M. Sărățeanu, F. Brunea-Fox, and others. There are also illustrations by modern artists.—SCRISUL NOSTRU (Our Writing), a monthly under the guidance of G. Tutoveanu and published in Bârlad, has in one of its recent numbers an interesting letter by Emil Gârleanu (1878–1914).

IN MEMORIAM.—CLARA MANIU, mother of Premier Iuliu Maniu, passed away, July 29, in her ancestral home at Bădăcini. Clara Maniu was the President of the Society of Rumanian Women of Sălăgiu and one of the leaders in the long struggle for Transylvanian freedom. Her patriarchal life was of a genial simplicity devoted to her family and the culture of her people. Rumanianism is in deep mourning.—MIHAIL EMINESCU (1850–1889) was commemorated, June 15, on the occasion of the fortieth anniversary of his death. The services included a requiem in the Boteanu Church at Bucharest, a procession to his tomb in the Bellu cemetery and a meeting of the Society of Friends of Literary History. Numerous publications consecrated special issues to the memory of the great Rumanian poet.

MISCELLANEOUS.—THE NATIONAL LITERARY PRIZES were awarded this year to Alexandru Davila, for poetry, and Liviu Rebreanu, prose. Alexandru Davila, born in 1860, is the author of *Vlaicu Vodă* (Vlaicu the Ruler), an historical drama in verse admitted to the permanent repertoire of the Bucharest National Theatre, of which he was a Director (1905–1908). He ranks as a reformer of the theatre, like Antoine in France. In *Vlaicu Vodă*, Davila's power of evocation is equalled only by the sonority of his rhythm. His other works comprise ballads and reminiscences. Liviu Rebreanu, born in 1885, is a novelist of repute. His *Ion, Pădurea Spînsurașilor* (The Forest of the Hanged), *Adam și Eva*, *Ciuleandra* (a folk dance), show the qualities of this master of the prose. Rebreanu published also short stories and produced several plays. He is at present the Director of the Bucharest National Theatre.—B. MADELEINE and Marina Bousquet published a French translation of Liviu Rebreanu's *Ciuleandra*, Paris, Baudinière, 1929. It has as a

sub-title: *danse de l'amour et de la mort*.—N. BATZARIA gives in the Bucharest *Adevărul* (The Truth) enlightening descriptions of many Rumanian regions visited during the summer.—B. BRĂNEȘTEANU contributes to *Adevărul literar și artistic* a touching eulogy of Paul Souday.

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ROMANCE LANGUAGE CLASS-TEXTS

W. W. Comfort, *French Romantic Prose*. New York, Scribner's, 1928, xxxiv + 517 pp.

This text is not an "anthology" in the ordinary sense of the term: it does not merely give specimen pages chosen from the works of a great number of representative authors. On the contrary President Comfort has chosen only seven prose selections in all, each comparatively lengthy, each by a highly important representative of Romanticism, and each calculated to give not only a very good idea of the work itself but also of the author's ideas and stylistic traits. Of these seven selections Bernardin de Saint-Pierre's *Paul et Virginie* and Chateaubriand's *Atala* and *René* are given in their entirety; so is the André Chénier episode of de Vigny's *Stello*. There are also generous selections from the *Obermann* of Sénancour, the *Confession d'un enfant du siècle* of de Musset and the *Confidences* of Lamartine. President Comfort has provided a general introduction (pp. ix-xxxiv), in which he gives a very sound account of Romanticism, plus a brief list of supplementary readings and a brief general bibliography of the Romantic movement in France. Each of the selections in the text is preceded by a short account of the author and of the particular work that is being presented, followed by a summary bibliography. As the book is destined for more or less advanced classes, the notes are almost exclusively historical and literary and there is no vocabulary.

This text should provide valuable material for courses in Romanticism; in fact it contains all that the student needs in order to have an adequate idea of French Romantic prose, and in view of the length of the selections offered this idea will be unusually clear and vivid. It is regrettable perhaps that in the notes only the page and not the line of the annotated passage has been given. In most cases the passage to which the note refers is perfectly obvious; in a few cases it may prove difficult for the student to trace the exact reference.¹ This is a minor matter however; the text has been excellently edited on the whole.

A. Daudet, *Tartarin sur les Alpes*. Edited with Introduction, Notes, Exercises and Vocabulary by H. Kurz, Boston, Heath, 1929, xviii + 291 pp.

It is rather unfortunate that Daudet drew the attention of his readers² to the fact that Tartarin represents a conscious parallel with Don Quixote or rather an attempt to combine in the squat Meridional the idealism of the immortal knight of La Mancha and the crass materialism of his squire, Sancho Panza. One inevitably makes comparisons; and with all due respect to the noble "tueur de lions" he is not to be mentioned in the same breath with what is perhaps the most famous

¹ Cf. "Page 10. A negro race of Senegambia." "Page 94. A marshal of France (1637-1712) under Louis XIV," etc.

² *Tartarin de Tarascon*, *passim*; particularly chap. vi.

single literary creation of all time. Yet if the Tartarin trilogy can hardly be considered as great literature, it is certainly to be placed in the forefront of amusing books. Tartarin, that Meridional of the purest dye, deserves consideration as a highly diverting type who may achieve an immortality of his own. He is perhaps at his best or rather most humorous in *Tartarin sur les Alpes*, which, for all the rather insipid terrorist episodes, combines with its merely amusing episodes a certain dramatic intensity which is rather lacking in *Tartarin de Tarascon* and *Port-Tarascon*.

Prof. Kurz's edition, which is characterized by its able editing and suggestive exercise material, is notable for its rather unusual treatment of the life of Daudet. Following the method of Guitry, Fauchois and others, the editor has presented the facts of the author's life in a series of *tableaux*, each dealing with a definite period and each accompanied by references to and brief descriptions of those works of Daudet which describe the period in question. This method, which of course could not be indiscriminately applied to all authors, is particularly effective in the case of Daudet because of the autobiographical nature of so much of his work.

Henri C. Néel, *French Anthology: Covering the Classical Period of French Literature From About 1636 to 1820*. New York, Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1929, xi + 383 pp.

The method adopted in Prof. Néel's *Anthology* is that of concentration upon the text itself rather than upon the critical commentary. To that end the introduction has been reduced to the minimum and contains only a summary account of some important works that will aid the student in his study of the classical period. Likewise in the comment upon each selection or series of selections of any given author, a conscious attempt seems to have been made to eliminate all unessential detail, to give exactly enough biographical data to definitely place the author in his period and to give exactly enough information about the selection itself to furnish the student with a clear idea of its setting and scope. For example, in considering Voltaire, the editor passes over the highly complicated biography of that worthy in a few lines, and in two very lucid pages he gives a critical analysis of Voltaire's dominant traits. With a precise idea of what to seek in the selections that follow the student can study them with the greatest amount of profit. This method has above all the advantage of considerable economy of space; as a result, in 293 pages of text the editor has managed to give a well-rounded and representative outline of the classical period. The selections, which begin with Racan's *Stances à Tircis* and end with an *Élégie* of Henri de Latouche, include the outstanding names in every field, particular attention being given to Corneille, La Fontaine, Molière, Mme. de Sévigné, Bossuet, Racine, Fénelon, Voltaire, Rousseau and Chateaubriand. To aid in surmounting textual difficulties there is an adequate vocabulary.

Prof. Néel's *Anthology* has much to recommend it. Besides its economy of space, it excels in its critical commentary, which is concise, judicious and well written. Because of its marked simplicity and clarity the *Anthology* could be used to advantage not only in survey courses but also toward the end of the sophomore year in French; it would admirably serve the purpose of giving at least some idea of the treasures of French classicism to such students as do not intend to continue their French studies.

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VARIA

According to announcements issued in October, the following are visiting professors at Harvard for the present academic year: Léon Robin, Professor of Ancient Philosophy at the Sorbonne; Marcel Aubert, of the Louvre Museum, Paris, Lecturer on Fine Arts; Henri Guy, Rector of the University of Grenoble, Exchange Professor from France for the first half year.—At Columbia there are Thomas E. Benner, Chancellor of the University of Porto Rico, Visiting Professor of Education; Alfons Hilka, Professor in the University of Goettingen, Visiting Professor of Romance Philology, Winter Session; Vittorio Macchioro, Professor of Archaeology in the University of Naples, Visiting Professor of Religion; Antoine Meillet, Professor in the Collège de France, Visiting Professor of Romance Philology (Spring Session); E. Allison Peers, Gilmour Professor of Spanish in the University of Liverpool, Visiting Professor of Modern Comparative Literature; Giuseppe Prezzolini, Latin Representative on the Bureau of Intellectual Cooperation of the League of Nations, Visiting Professor of Italian.—At the opening of its new chemical laboratory on September 26, Princeton University awarded the honorary degree of Doctor of Science to five of the leading chemists of the world. Among them was Jean Baptiste Perrin, Nobel Prize Laureate, Director of the Laboratory of Physical Chemistry of the University of Paris, and Director of the newly founded Rothschild Institute for Research in Biophysics. Prof. Perrin was Visiting Professor at Columbia University in 1913.—The visiting professors at Hunter College for the present academic year include Marcel Braunschvig in French, and Domaso Alonso, of the Centro de

Estudios Históricas, in Spanish. Other additions to the faculty of Hunter are Léon Vallas, Assistant Professor, formerly of the University of Lyons and of the Sorbonne, and Robert-Marie Le Bidoir, instructor, formerly Assistant Professor of French at the University of Cairo.

Among American educators and authors who have recently been honored by foreign governments and academies are the following: Jules-Bois, well-known author, Officier de la Légion d'Honneur; Dr. C. C. Williamson, Director of Libraries of Columbia University, Chevalier de la Légion d'Honneur; and Professors H. F. Muller and F. G. Hoffherr of Columbia University, both of whom received the rank of Officier d'Académie. On August 21, S. E. il Gr. Cr. Luigi Criscuolo d'Antivari, Delegate of the Accademia Italiana di Scienze e Lettere in the United States, announced, in the public press, that the following Americans had been elected to honorary membership in the Academy for their work in bringing about better cultural relations between the United States and Italy: Leo S. Rowe, Director General of the Pan-American Union, President of the American Academy of Political Science; Hamilton Holt, President of Rollins College, formerly Editor of *The Independent*; and John L. Gerig, Professor of Celtic, Columbia University.

At the request of the editor of *La Vie Littéraire* of *Le Figaro*, Prof. R. L. Hawkins of Harvard University contributed to the Sept. 7 issue of the well-known journal an article entitled "Deux Lettres inédites d'Alfred de Vigny." These letters—of which one is addressed to Augustin Soulié under the date, "16 8bre 1829," and the other to Julien Daillière, "28 fév. 1858"—were discovered by Prof. Hawkins in the collection of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, at Philadelphia.

Among the important gifts received recently by the Princeton University Library, as announced on July 13, is a copy of Virgil's *Bucolics*, *Georgics* and *Aeneid*, printed at the first Sorbonne Press about 1470 by Ulric Gering, Michel Friburger and Martin Crantz, who operated the Press from 1470 to 1472 and are believed to have introduced printing into France.

According to an article by Lansing Warren in the *New York Times* of July 28, "the University of Paris maintains its place as the largest upon the Continent." During the academic year 1928-29 there were more than 28,000 students at the University, of whom a large proportion consisted of foreigners.—Elsewhere, Mr. Lansing states also that "this year's art exhibition proved again how Paris holds preeminence in the production of painting and statuary, and that the quantity of that production at least is increasing enormously."

Newspapers of August 28 contained announcement of the retirement of Prof. John H. Wigmore as Dean of the Law School of Northwestern University. Dean Wigmore endeared himself to all Romance scholars by founding in 1915 the Society for American Fellowships in French Universities and by editing in 1917 the very useful volume entitled *Science and Learning in France* (xl + 454 pp.), which not only served as a guide for our students in the years immediately following the War, but also established the prestige of French scholarship in America.

On July 20, 1929, the seventh Foreign Study Group of the University of Delaware, comprising 67 students from forty colleges and universities throughout the United States, embarked at New York for France, where they are spending the present academic year.

An interesting innovation in child-education, which is being closely followed by foreign educators, was announced on Sept. 22 by Miss Anna E. McLin, Director of the Child Education Foundation, which operates the Children's Home School at

66 East 92d Street, New York. According to Miss McLin, the new plan requires that children eight and nine years old, who have been studying French since they were five, will study history and geography this year in French with a Frenchman as teacher.

The *New York Herald Tribune* of September 15 contained a long article devoted to Eleuterio Felice Foresti, Italian patriot, who became second professor of Italian at Columbia University in 1839. Mr. H. R. Marraro, instructor in Italian at Columbia, who is preparing a study of his life and work, has discovered an autobiography of Foresti published in the *New York Evening Post* of June 5, 1854. Therein Foresti gives a brief, but impressive, account of his imprisonment in an Austrian dungeon with Silvio Pellico, author of *Le Mie Prigioni*, and other Italian patriots, from 1821 to 1836. Further, Foresti states how he was "hailed by the American people with sympathy and love" on his arrival in New York in 1836 and of his becoming an American citizen in 1841. During his stay in the United States, Foresti was in close relations with Mazzini, and later became American consul at Genoa, where he died. A portrait of Foresti, made by Michael De Santis from a daguerreotype of 1851, was presented to Columbia University on Oct. 25 last.

The *New York Times* of Sept. 1 contained a long feature-article entitled "Edward Tuck Devotes His Wealth to France." Mr. Tuck is known in this country for his numerous benefactions to Dartmouth College, among which may be noted the Sturtevant collection of works on the French Renaissance and the French Room, of which illustrations were published in the April-June (1929) issue of the *ROMANIC REVIEW*.

The Pennsylvania Museum of Art at Philadelphia announced on July 27 the appointment of a permanent advisory group of ten experts, including Marcel Aubert, of the Musée du Louvre, in the field of Gothic art; Walter W. S. Cook, of New York University, Spanish art; Nicola d'Ascenzo, of Philadelphia, stained glass; and Richard Offner, of New York University, Italian art.

Newspapers of August 13 contained long accounts of the proposed Palais de France, a French commercial skyscraper of 65 stories, which will be erected on the site of the Century Theatre in New York. This immense building, of which the cost of construction is estimated at \$50,000,000, will house, according to the *New York Times*, the French consulate, the office of the commercial attaché and other official agencies devoted to the promotion of French thought, art, industry and commerce in this country. It will also contain a 1200-room hotel, exhibition rooms, and two large banks. The directors plan to establish likewise in the Palais an Académie des Beaux Arts, where, says the announcement, "through meetings and conferences, will be taught language, history, literature and contemporary French art, together with authentic courses in modern business procedure. . . . The directors further intend to create a conservatory of music and dramatic art, where the principal works of French composers and authors will be presented and taught. There also will be a department of choreographic art, the French ballet, in charge of the most renowned ballet-masters of Europe." The success of this project is due to the initiative of Maxime Mongendre, for many years Consul General of France at New York.

It is our sad duty to add to the necrology of the year the following names of distinguished scholars, scientists, artists, etc.: Oscar Kuhns, Hollis Professor of Romance Languages at Wesleyan University (Conn.) since 1890, who retired as emeritus professor in 1924, died at Middletown on August 20, at the age of 73 years.

Dr. Kuhns, who was noted as a student of Dante, graduated at Wesleyan in 1885 and was awarded the L.H.D. degree by Dickinson in 1904. Among his publications are *The Treatment of Nature in Dante's Divina Commedia* (1897); *Revised Edition of Cary's Translation of Dante* (1897); *Studies in the Italian Poets* (1901); *The Great Italian Poets* (1903); *Dante and the English Poets* (1904); *St. Francis of Assisi* (1906), etc.—John Cotton Dana, the famous librarian, died in New York on July 21 in his 73d year. As head of the Newark Library since 1902, and director of the Newark Museum, Mr. Dana was one of the first American librarians to take an active interest in the exhibition of Romance, especially Italian, collections of books.—Paul Souday, distinguished French literary critic, known in the United States for his weekly letter to the *New York Times Book Review*, died in Paris on July 7. Among the writers discovered by him, according to the *Times*, were the novelists Marcel Proust and André Gide, and the poet Paul Valéry. His studies of Descartes, Pascal, Voltaire, Hugo and Anatole France are also highly esteemed.—Georges Landoy, editor of *Le Matin* of Antwerp, died at Yellowstone Park, Wyo., on July 5, as a result of burns from the boiling spray of Castle Geyser.—Pascal Adolphe Jean Dagnan-Bouveret, noted painter, died in Paris on July 3 in his 77th year. A pupil of Gérôme, Dagnan-Bouveret achieved his first success in the Salon of 1879 with his "A Wedding at the Photographer's."—Dr. Auguste Marie, of the Pasteur Institute of Paris, head of the Asylum of Ste. Anne, died early in August from the fatal disease of botulism contracted while seeking a serum for the bacillus botulinus. He was only 38 years of age.—Jean Psichari, noted Jewish Orientalist, died in Paris on October 1, at the age of 74 years. His wife was the daughter of Ernest Renan.—Emile Antoine Bourdelle, one of France's most celebrated sculptors, died in Paris on Oct. 1 in his 68th year. His most famous works include Heracles in the Luxembourg Museum, monument to Gen. Alvear in Buenos Aires, and the famous "La Vierge d'Alsace," called "the most noble of all World War monuments."

The Students' International Union of 522 Fifth Avenue, New York, announced on July 27 that sixteen American students have been awarded scholarships in order to study science, politics, literature and international questions at Geneva during the present academic year. Professor Gilbert Murray is President of the Union, whose headquarters at 10 rue St. Léger, Geneva, represent the cooperation of fifty-five nations.

A report issued recently by the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace shows that while enrollment of students in German universities increased from 60,000 for the Winter Semester of 1913-14 to 72,000 in the Summer Semester of 1927, there is a noticeable decline, in certain faculties, in the number of foreign students. This is attributed to the fact that "there is no doubt that before the war there was a large proportion of foreign students, who have deserted the German universities and are finding their way into institutions of higher learning in other countries, especially in France."

According to a report on the study of languages in the high schools of New York, made public on October 12 by L. A. Wilkins and Dr. Jacob Greenberg, 79,972 pupils are studying French in the city's secondary and junior high-schools, 35,295 Spanish, 33,295 Latin, 10,707 German, 2,694 Italian, and 169 Greek. Further, Mr. Wilkins states that "the English language already dominates the commercial world. It has outstripped both Spanish and German. In years to come it is quite probable that there will be no commercial demand for the teaching of any language other than English."

Elsie Weil contributed to the *New York Times* of Sept. 15 a long article on "New York a Centre of Pan-American Life," in which she points out that "Spanish attained its high water mark in the public day high schools of New York City in 1924 and 1925." In both New York University and Columbia University the enrolment of students in undergraduate courses exceeds one thousand, while at Columbia University there are 200 students in the graduate classes. Professor de Onís is quoted as saying "that the elementary classes are growing smaller, while the proportion of graduate students doing advanced work in Spanish is steadily increasing. Many are writing their doctor of philosophy dissertations on Latin-American subjects requiring much original research and scholarship."

According to a survey of the growth and decline of languages published recently by the *Neue Zürcher Zeitung*, English was a hundred years ago the tongue of only about 20,000,000 persons, while today, says the *New York Times* of July 14, it is spoken by 160,000,000 persons throughout the world, and 60,000,000 other persons understand and use it. A century ago 32,000,000 persons used German; today between 80,000,000 and 90,000,000 speak it, and 20,000,000 others understand it. Among the other Germanic languages Dutch is spoken at present by about 15,000,000 persons, Swedish by 7,500,000 and Danish by 5,000,000. "The use of the Romance languages," says the *Times*, "has not increased so rapidly." But while French has only increased as a mother tongue in the course of the century from 32,400,000 to 45,000,000, it leads all the languages of the world in being understood by foreigners, who number 75,000,000. The figures given for Spanish seem inaccurate, for, according to the survey, the number of those using this language has increased in the century from 32,000,000 to only 50,000,000! Italian has increased from 21,000,000 to 45,000,000, but no figures are given with respect to the number of foreigners capable of understanding either this language or Spanish. Turkish appears to be the only important tongue which has declined in use in the past hundred years—from 30,000,000 to 24,000,000.

Mr. R. A. Goodwin of Sauerman Bros., Engineers, of Chicago, calls attention to an interesting use of "O. K." as an infinitive in the following passage of a letter received from their foreign agents: "Suivant notre accord . . . j'établirai quelques offres que vous voudrez O. K. pour établir la bonne compréhension."

Mr. Donald E. Parrish, National Secretary of the Universal Esperanto Association, predicted recently that Esperanto will be the language of talking pictures of the future. In his opinion, "film producers already see the necessity of producing talking films for the millions who know no English." Accordingly some studios are now engaged in testing the use of Esperanto in talking motion pictures. That an international language—now rendered a necessity by recent progress in talking films, radio, and means of transportation—is one of the perplexing problems of the immediate future is further indicated by the development of the speech translator, first conceived, according to press reports of July 13, five years ago by Edward A. Filene, the Boston merchant. As the purpose of the translator is to eliminate the confusion of international association meetings, each delegate, says the *New York Times*, "has ear phones, and before him is a dial by which he may turn to French, English, German, Spanish, Italian. Close to the speaker is a group of expert interpreters who talk into the microphones before them. These are hooked up to all the ear-phones in the hall. So well has the system worked out that the interpreters are usually only a few words behind the speakers."

Dr. Guido Ferrando, Professor of English Literature at the University of

Florence and who was Visiting Professor at the Columbia University Summer Session in 1929, lectured at the University of California during the autumn. Dr. Ferrando is the founder of the Florence Instituto Italico-Britannico, which co-operates with universities in England and the United States.

Pierre Van Paassen, foreign correspondent of the *New York World*, devotes his contribution of July 30 to the "school of historians" who maintain that Joan of Arc never was burned at the stake at Rouen. "This school holds that, although there was a wholesale burning of heretics and criminals in the public square in Rouen on that day in May, 1431," says Mr. Van Paassen, "the principal victim was another young woman who had been convicted of sorcery. . . . Joan was pardoned on the understanding that she never would take up arms again, but return to her native Lorraine and lead a normal feminine life." The evidence used by the new investigators to build up their case includes two documents which Père Vignier, the seventeenth century chronicler, claimed to have discovered in the library of Metz. According to these documents Joan visited Metz in 1436 where she was recognized by two of her brothers. She is supposed to have gone thence to Luxemburg where she was married to a nobleman named Hermoise or Robert des Armoises. Other documents cited by the recent investigators include a letter, supposed to have been written by the Duke of Orleans, which states that "he intended to accord a reception to Jehanne, surnamed the 'Maid of Orleans' in 1439." "Another paper which came to light recently from the archives of the City of Orleans," concludes Mr. Van Paassen, "mentions the expense the city was put to in 1439, four years after her marriage, to make her a present 'in memory of the good which she did do to the city in the time of the siege.'" To all of which supporters of the traditional account content themselves with replying merely that the "Joans that appear after the Maid's death were impostors." In this regard it may be noted that Mr. Roger Howson, Librarian, and Professor G. L. van Roosbroeck, both of Columbia University, have just completed a bibliography of all studies, articles, etc., on Joan of Arc which have appeared in the last fifty years. This bibliography will be published by the Rev. Dr. Acton Griscom, donor of the Joan of Arc collection to the Library of Columbia University.

The well-known writer André Maurois has succeeded the late Paul Souday as French literary correspondent of the *New York Times Book Review*. His first contribution devoted to *Les Enfants Terribles*, the new novel by Jean Cocteau, appeared in the issue of Aug. 18. In succeeding issues he has discussed the following works and topics: Bernard Faÿ, *La Littérature française contemporaine* (Aug. 25); Ramon Fernandez, *La Vie de Molière* (Sept. 1); "On 'Difficult Prose' by French Writers" (Sept. 8); "Some French Writers of Travel Books" (Sept. 22), etc. The Sept. 1 issue of the *Times Book Review* devotes an entire page to "An Ingenious Hoax in Dante Documents," a review by Walter Littlefield of Arthur Marquarie's imaginary *Three Letters of Gemma Donati, Wife of Dante Alighieri* (Florence, 1920). This pamphlet, which was first exhibited by the Permanent Italian Book Exhibition, Inc., at the Italian House during the summer of 1928, has been taken seriously by Mr. Littlefield, notwithstanding the fact that the letters are said to have been discovered by Professor Pundo Bugiardi and are rendered in amusing archaic English.

In a long editorial entitled "Good American French," the *New York Times* gave recently a review of an article published by M. Franck L. Schoell, former professor in the University of California, in the *Revue des Deux Mondes*. With regard to the widespread interest of Americans in things French, M. Schoell does not believe

our army to be responsible, for, in his opinion, our soldiers "picked up very little French to take home, since they crossed the ocean for a totally different purpose." He affirms rather that in the large number of phrases seen in advertising and on shops employing the word French—whether pastry, dressing, gowns, or laundry, etc.—the adjective does not mean imported from France, nor even in the French manner, but "distinguished, elegant, luxurious." Or, as the *Times* concludes: "By an association of ideas, calling a thing French implies that it is like the same thing in France—fine and beautiful and worthy of having been produced by France."

Fernand Vandérem urges, in *Le Figaro* of Sept. 7, that a statue of Baudelaire, "le seul grand poète de notre littérature," be erected in Paris. He feels that many foreign nations would doubtless like to subscribe to this worthy undertaking, and adds: "Les grandes Universités des États-Unis ne cessent de lui consacrer des ouvrages, attestant un culte enthousiaste."

The *New York Times Magazine* began, in its issue of Sept. 15, publication of letters by Marie Antoinette recently discovered by Dr. Otto Ernst of Vienna in the imperial archives of the Hapsburgs. These letters, addressed to her mother, Empress Maria Theresa, in Vienna, and to Count Mercy-Argenteau, Austrian Ambassador in Paris, were written between 1789 and 1793, and prove that "Marie Antoinette was guilty of that treason against the government of France with which the Revolutionists charged her at her trial."

Among interesting editorials published recently in the *New York Times* are the following: "Dictatorless France," Aug. 4; "The New France," Sept. 15; and "Lafayette-Marne Day," Sept. 7. Likewise an account of Edmond Genêt, French Minister to the United States in 1793, was occasioned, in an article entitled "Genêt Incident Recalled" (issue of June 30), by a recent breach of etiquette of a foreign diplomat. Also the dedication of a monument in Paris to the memory of Alexandre Gustave Eiffel inspired a long article in the July 14 issue by Diana Rice, entitled "Eiffel Tower's Builder Once Ridiculed by Paris."

In the October number of the *Virginia Quarterly Review*, M. André Gide selects the following as the novels he would take with him to a desert island: *La Chartreuse de Parme*, *Les Liaisons dangereuses*, *La Princesse de Clèves*, *Dominique*, *La Cousine Bette*, *Madame Bovary*, *Germinal* and *Marianne*.

Dr. F. H. Vizetelly, the lexicographer, and others have been discussing in the press the origin of the word *Gringo*, as applied by Mexicans especially to citizens of the United States. After much theorizing, they have discovered a fact which has long been known to Romance philologists, viz., that it is a corruption of *griego*, "Greek," found in the Spanish locution, *hablar in griego*, "to talk in gibberish." For a similar use of the word, cf. the English: "It is Greek to me."

American and Porto Rican newspapers discussed during the past summer the authorship of *La Borinquena*, the national hymn of Porto Rico. According to an editorial in the *New York Times* of July 7, Aristides Chavier, who first attributed it to Felix Astol, the Spanish song-writer, came finally to the conclusion that it "was identical with a Peruvian air, 'Bella Peruana.'" But the *Times*, as well as P. J. Biaggi—writing in the *Times* of July 11—attributes the music to the native guitarist, Francisco Ramirez Ortiz and the words to Lola Rodriguez de Tio, a San German singer of 1860.

One hundred American professors and writers attended the fourth session of the Mexican Seminar of the Committee on Cultural Relations with Latin America which was held at Vera Cruz from July 13 to Aug. 3.

According to press reports of Oct. 6, the Cuban House of Representatives has passed legislation aimed to perpetuate the use of the Spanish language on the island. The bill provides that all signs, advertisements, etc., and all documents of a legal, commercial or public nature be printed in Spanish. It is thus hoped to remove the danger of replacement of Spanish by English.

Antonio Beltramelli, writing in the *Popolo d'Italia* of Rome (April 28), attempts to prove that Miguel Cervantes was born at Forlimpopoli, in the region of Romagna, on Oct. 12, 1547, and that he was christened Michele Cervanti.

As a token of his admiration for the work Premier Mussolini has been doing in Italy in the last seven years, Mr. Samuel H. Kress, of New York, placed at the disposal of the Premier "a considerable sum of money which he wished to dedicate to the restoration of some of Italy's monuments of antiquity," according to Arnaldo Cortesi in the *New York Times* of Oct. 6. Among these monuments are the Doric column at Cotrone dating from about 500 B.C., the monumental Romanic basilica of Steufemia in Spoleto, the ducal palace at Mantua, and the crypt of the Church of St. John, the Evangelist, in Ravenna.—Likewise Mr. George Eastman, the philanthropist of Rochester, N. Y., gave recently to Mr. Mussolini the sum of \$1,000,000 for the establishment of a dental clinic at Rome.

Arnaldo Cortesi discusses, in the *New York Times* of Oct. 6, the interesting analysis of Premier Mussolini's oratorical style contained in Giuseppe Arda's recent book on that subject. Sgr. Arda brings out the fact that not only is Mussolini a great orator but that he also possesses extraordinary gifts both as a modern and classical writer. He even predicts that some pages written by the Premier "will go down to history with Italian literature."

Charles Morgan, writing from London on July 18 to the *New York Times*, praises the production of Pirandello's *Lazzaro* given at Huddersfield, Eng., during the summer. "Recently Pirandello's reputation in England has declined," he says. "Criticism has made it fairly plain . . . that the philosophy of such pieces as *Henry IV* and *Six Characters in Search of an Author* is more complicated than profound." However, *Lazzaro* "marks a definite movement by Pirandello toward a directness of which he has seemed hitherto incapable. It is not the play; but it may well be a prelude to it." *Lazzaro* will be produced in New York in January.

J. L. G.

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